SERVING CANADIANS

YOUTH INVOLVEMENT IN PROSTITUTION: A LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Justice Canada.

Table of Contents

page

Acknowledgements iii

Executive Summary v

1.0 Introduction 1

1.1 Purpose of the Report 1

1.2 Definitional Issues 1

1.3 Overview of the Issues 2

2.0 Legislative History and Policy Responses 3

2.1 Early Prostitution-Related Legislation in Canada 4

2.2 The Soliciting Law and Concerns with Youth Involvement in Prostitution 5

2.3 The Fraser Committee 6

2.4 The Badgley Committee 7

2.5 The Badgley Committee on Past Sexual Experiences of Young Prostitutes 8

2.6 Recommendations of the Badgley Committee 9

2.7 The Federal Government's Response to Badgley and Fraser 10

2.8 The Communicating Law 10

2.9 Legislating Protection – Bill C-15 11

2.10 From Villain to Victim: the Context of Policy Responses to Youth Prostitution 12

2.11 The Advent of Secure Care 13

2.12 Problems with Secure Care as a Policy Option 15

2.13 Conclusion: Common Themes in Legislative and Policy Attempts to Address Youth Prostitution 16

3.0 Social Science Literature: An Overview of the Findings and Debates 19

3.1 Antecedents of Youth Involvement in Prostitution 19

3.1.1 Summary of Findings 21

3.2 Young Males Involved in Prostitution 21

3.2.1 Summary of Findings 22

3.3 Psychological Issues 22

3.3.1 Summary of Findings 22

104-05961/

3.4 Homeless or Runaway Issues 22
3.4.1 Summary of Findings 23
3.5 Violence Against Prostitutes 23
3.5.1 Summary of Findings 25
3.6 Research on Customers/Clients 25
3.6.1 Summary of Findings 25
3.7 HIV Related Issues 25
3.7.1 Summary of Findings 26
3.8 Exiting Prostitution 26
3.8.1 Summary of Findings 27
3.9 Aboriginal Youth Involved in Prostitution 27
3.9.1 Summary of Findings 27
3.10 Trafficking Women for the Purpose of Prostitution 28
3.10.1 Summary of Findings 28
3.11 Miscellaneous International Issues 28
4.0 Summary and Conclusions 31
4.1 Legislative History and Development 31
4.2 The Social Science Literature 32
4.3 Levels of Disjuncture 32
4.4 Recommendations for Future Research 33
References 35
Appendix A: Annotated Bibliography 43

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Executive Summary

Since the early 1980s, there has been a growing concern about youth involvement in prostitution. The discovery of youth prostitution as a social problem inspired an unprecedented quantity of research and program initiatives aimed at better understanding and addressing the youth sex trade.[1] This report is a comprehensive literature review on youth involved in prostitution, with a focus on legal and extra-legal responses to the youth sex trade and the main findings and debates in the social science literature, in particular the research on childhood physical, sexual and emotional abuse and their role in precipitating youth involvement in prostitution.

Based on a general overview of the literature, this report 1) reviews the legislative history of prostitution from the mid-1800s to present, as well as several policy responses, including government reports and related programs and initiatives, and 2) provides an overview of the main findings and debates in the social science literature, which includes: antecedents of youth involvement in prostitution, young males involved in prostitution, psychological issues, homeless or runaway issues, violence against prostitutes, research on customers/clients, HIV related issues, exiting prostitution, aboriginal youth involvement in prostitution, trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution, and miscellaneous international issues.[2]

Legislative History and Policy Response

- The legislative history and policy development literature reveals that over time female prostitutes have been subjected to discriminatory legislation and unequal law enforcement, regardless of age (for example, see Sullivan, 1986, Lowman, 1997).
- In contrast to female prostitutes, men associated with the demand aspect of the sex trade have enjoyed relative immunity from the law.
- Despite a history of discriminatory prostitution related legislation and law enforcement, there have been some signs of policy changes pertaining to youth prostitution.
- Since the 1990s, discussions and efforts to suppress and control the youth sex trade have shifted away from the youth prostitute to the men who purchase, or attempt to purchase their sexual services.
- During this time, an overview of various federal, provincial and municipal government sponsored reports and initiatives reveal a shift in the philosophical approach to youth involvement in prostitution toward a growing consensus that young prostitutes are victims of sexual exploitation, rather than offenders. In many Canadian jurisdictions there are examples of new initiatives aimed at protecting young prostitutes, including several attempts to amend child welfare legislation so as to (re)define youth prostitution as child sexual abuse.
- Regardless of the strategies to protect youth involved in prostitution from the men who sexually procure them, there is a perception in the literature that young prostitutes are still punished under the guise of protection. In 1999, for example, the Alberta government introduced the *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act*, which permits authorities (e.g., police or social workers) to detain a young prostitute in secure custody to receive emergency care and treatment. Other jurisdictions (e.g., British Columbia and Nova Scotia) have considered similar legislation.
- Such response is not without its critics. For instance, several articles reviewed for this paper caution that attempts to "help" or "protect" young prostitutes may be interpreted by youth involved in prostitution as another form of control (i.e., protection as a euphemism for control). In this respect, recent strategies

[1] For the purpose of this report, youth involved in prostitution, youth prostitution and youth sex trade will be used interchangeably.
[2] This report updates the information from a previous Department of Justice, Research and Statistics Division literature review (see, Bittle, 1999).

to protect youth involved in prostitution harkens back to the early 1900s when reformers emphasized the need to protect youth, but the practice resulted in the further punishment of young prostitutes – all under the guise of protection.

Social Sciences Literature: An Overview of the Findings and Debates

There is a debate in the social science literature with respect to the association between childhood physical and sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution. An overview of the literature reveals the following:

- Many young prostitutes ran away or were forced out – or "thrown away" (see, for example, Lowman, 1987) – at an early age from home environments they described as intolerable, including frequent cases of physical, sexual and emotional abuse.
- Many males involved in prostitution may have run away to escape discrimination based on their sexual orientation.
- In many respects, intrafamilial family violence and dysfunction often provides the impetus to leave home.
- Following their decision to run away, many prostitutes were attracted ("pulled") to street-life by a desire for autonomy and money.
- Once on the streets the situational poverty of street involved youth (i.e., below average education, limited employment skills, youth unemployment and inadequate services) and a steady (male) demand for sexual services, make prostitution a viable alternative for some youths.

Other areas of concern found within the social science literature include the unacceptable levels of violence against women involved in prostitution, the lack of research on customers/clients, the need to understand the process of exiting the sex trade, and the paucity of research specifically focused on Aboriginal youth involvement in prostitution.

Conclusion

Overall, this literature review raises important questions for how researchers and policymakers understand and respond to youth involvement in prostitution. For instance, the report reveals limited youth-centered social science prostitution research and limited efforts to use the experiences of youth involved (or who have been involved) in prostitution to inform prostitution-related policy development. The literature clearly reveals a disjuncture between the lived realities of youth involved in prostitution and current approaches adopted in many recent policy initiatives. Efforts to reduce or combat the youth sex trade will take further research to increase our understanding of this phenomenon, a general willingness to listen to the needs of youth involved in prostitution, and a desire to address the conditions that make prostitution a favorable option for some youth.

1.0 Introduction

Since the early 1980s, there has been a growing concern among government officials and academics with the involvement of children and youth in prostitution. The identification of youth prostitution as a social problem inspired an unprecedented quantity of research and government reports aimed at better understanding and addressing the youth sex trade.

1.1 Purpose of the Report

This report is a comprehensive literature review on youth involved in prostitution, with a focus on legal and extra-legal responses to the youth sex trade and the main findings and debates in the social science literature. There is a special emphasis on the research on childhood physical, sexual and emotional abuse and their role in precipitating youth involvement in prostitution. In an effort to better inform future policy decisions, this report will provide researchers and policymakers with a better understanding of the many contradictory issues that surround youth involvement in prostitution. Efforts to reduce or combat the youth sex trade will require further research to increase our understanding of this phenomenon, a general willingness to listen to the needs of youth involved in prostitution, and desire to address the conditions that make prostitution a favorable option to some youth.

This review includes a general overview of the literature and a comprehensive annotated bibliography (see Appendix A). Information for this report was gathered through library sources, selected Internet sites, and requests for prostitution-related information made to representatives of the Federal/Provincial/Territorial (F/P/T) Working Group on Prostitution which was established in 1992 to examine legislation, policy and practices concerning prostitution-related activities – including a special emphasis on youth involvement in prostitution.

1.2 Definitional Issues

There are various debates in the literature about the definition, characteristics and age of young prostitutes. For example, although youth prostitution is commonly discussed in the context of young women involved in the sex trade, research in this area also highlights male involvement (see Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth, 1984[3]; Earls and David, 1989; Visano, 1987) and the over-representation of Aboriginal youth (see Currie et al., 1995; Lowman, 1987).

A further debate in the literature surrounds the meaning of youth involvement in prostitution. For some researchers it constitutes the direct sexual exploitation of youth, while others consider it the exchange of sexual services to subsist (i.e., for food or shelter) or for monetary purposes (i.e., money to purchase drugs). This is most evident in that recent discussions about youth involvement in prostitution are dominated by a sexual victimization and exploitation framework (British Columbia, 1996; Halldorson Jackson, 1998; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996). For instance, several government reports (municipal, provincial and federal) base their work upon the conceptualization that youth prostitution represents a form of child sexual abuse (see Lines, 1998; Task Force on Children Involved in Prostitution, 1997) and that the youth involved in prostitution is considered a victim rather than an offender.

The age debate in the literature focuses on determining a) the average age of youth upon entry into prostitution, and b) the age used to define young prostitutes. First, the research identifies a range of entry ages. The Badgley Committee (1984) reported that almost half of their respondents entered prostitution before the age of 15. Lowman and Fraser (1996) found the average age of entry was 16.3 years for females and 15.6 years for males. Research conducted in Victoria, British Columbia revealed 15.5 years as the average age for entering into prostitution (Report of the Sexually Exploited Youth Committee of the Capital Regional District, 1997). In general, the literature indicates that most prostitutes entered the sex trade before the age of 18, many before the age of 16. Second, researchers have also used

[3] The Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (1984) will hereafter be referred to as the Badgley Committee.

different ages to define a youth prostitute. The Badgley Committee (1984) identified "juvenile prostitutes" as being under the age of 20; while the Fraser Committee[4] used up to age 18. More recently, the F/P/T Prostitution Working Group used age 18 and under to define youth involved in prostitution, citing that the *Young Offenders Act* identifies a "young person" as being under 18, and that s.212(4) of the *Criminal Code* prohibits purchasing, or attempting to purchase, the sexual services of someone under the age of 18. Notwithstanding, most of the literature defines young prostitutes as being under 18 years of age.[5]

1.3 Overview of the Issues

A broad overview of the extant literature reveals many key issues surrounding the impact of youth involvement in the sex trade. The first section of the report discusses the history and development of prostitution related legislation and law enforcement. Following this, the document reviews several findings and debates in the social science literature. The report concludes with a review of the findings, recommends future research, and an annotated bibliography of references used in the analysis.

4 The Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (1985) will hereafter be referred to as the Fraser Committee.
5 Some social service agencies define "youths" as those under the age of 24 years, this provides agencies with more clients, and enables them to qualify for other government funding (Data collected in Vancouver, B.C. by Bittle, 1999).

2.0 Legislative History and Policy Responses[6]

Prostitution *per se* is legal in Canada; buying and selling sexual services are not prohibited by legislation. However, many peripheral activities necessary to engage in the sex trade are illegal such that it is difficult to prostitute without breaking the law. The *Criminal Code* currently prohibits five categories of prostitution-related activities:

1) Being found in or operating a bawdy-house.
2) Living on the avails of prostitution.
3) Procuring, or attempting to procure, an individual to "...have illicit sexual intercourse with another person, whether in or out of Canada."
4) Obtaining, or attempting to obtain, the sexual services of a youth.
5) Communicating in public, "for the purpose of engaging in prostitution or of obtaining the sexual services of a prostitute."

Together these laws make it virtually impossible to practice prostitution without running afoul of the law. As Lowman (1992: 78/79) notes:

> [t]he prostitute has been legislatively encircled; prostitution is permitted as long as it is not practiced. It is virtually impossible to conceive of a location where prostitution can occur on a regular basis without one of the parties to the act risking criminal prosecution.

Throughout the twentieth century in Canada various special interest groups have provided the impetus for combating prostitution and for enacting and enforcing prostitution-related laws and implementing policies. There are examples of opponents who rejected prostitution on moral grounds because it encouraged sex outside marriage (Lowman, 1992: 70/71; McLaren, 1986). At times epidemiological concerns propelled the enactment of anti-venereal disease legislation (Backhouse, 1985: 390; Lowman, 1992: 71; McLaren, 1986). At other times, feminist groups rejected prostitution because of its exploitation of women. From the mid-seventies through the early nineties, the visibility of prostitution and its associated nuisances dominated debates (Brock, 1998; Lowman, 1992: 71).

Starting in the mid-1980s, prostitution-related policy and legislative discussions focused on the apparent increase of youth involvement in the sex trade. The discovery of youth prostitution as a social problem inspired an unprecedented quantity of research and policy initiatives aimed at better understanding and addressing youth prostitution.[7] During this period, three major federal government responses in Canada considered - in whole or in part - youth involvement in prostitution: the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth, the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, and the Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution (1998).

Since the early 1990s, discussions and efforts to suppress prostitution have emphasized that young prostitutes are victims in need of protection. This philosophical shift has produced various programs and policy initiatives aimed at increasing the protection afforded to youth who are sexually exploited through their involvement in prostitution. The most recent response has been the introduction of secure care legislation in the province of Alberta, which empowers authorities to detain young prostitutes in "protective confinement," where they receive emergency care and treatment. Other Canadian jurisdictions (e.g., British Columbia, Ontario, and Nova Scotia) are contemplating similar legislation and policy strategies.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the historical developments concerning prostitution-related legislation and law enforcement, including an examination of the various federal, provincial and municipal government policies, reports and initiatives that have helped to shape social and legal policy responses to the youth sex trade in Canada.

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[6] Portions of this chapter originally appeared in Bittle, 1999a.

[7] The phrase "(re)discovery of youth prostitution as a social problem" suggests that the 1980s was not the first time that youth prostitution was considered a social problem. As will be discussed, youth involvement in prostitution was also a major social concern during the early 1900s.

2.1 Early Prostitution-Related Legislation in Canada

Vagrancy laws imported to Canada from England during the mid-1800s criminalized the status "prostitute" - merely being a prostitute was sufficient to evoke a criminal charge (Backhouse, 1985: 389). A prostitute "...who could not explain her presence in a public place to a police officer (or any woman who could not give a 'satisfactory account of herself') was arrested" (O'Connell, 1988: 113). Police identified a "common" prostitute by issuing a warning about her suspected involvement in the sex trade, and then used it against her if a subsequent vagrancy charge was laid (i.e., the warning was used as evidence in court that the woman was indeed a common prostitute) (Lowman, 1991b: 191/192). Legislation during this period (circa 1867) did not provide special protection for young prostitutes, as "...children were seen as small adults who reached social and sexual maturity at an early age and were accordingly not entitled to special protection by the law" (McLaren, 1986: 126).

The late 1800s witnessed a marked change in the philosophical approach to prostitution. A growing concern emerged among several Canadian religious groups that an international "white slavery" trade had developed, which involved the trafficking of young women and children in prostitution. Several special interest groups lobbied the federal government to introduce legislation that would protect young women and children who were believed to be duped into a life of prostitution (Backhouse, 1985: 393; O'Connell, 1988: 115).

> Prostitution, a glaring illustration of promiscuity and the commercialization of sexuality, was challenged as antithetical to the goal of harmony between the sexes. Attention was focused upon the exploitation of innocent young women who were widely believed to have been manipulated or forced into a life of prostitution (Backhouse, 1985: 393).

In general, reformers of the time wanted to protect women and children from the "...wiles of procurers, seducers and abductors by the enactment of stiff criminal law provisions" (McLaren, 1986: 135).

In 1892, the federal government introduced a series of laws to the *Criminal Code* aimed at protecting young women and children from "sexual predators" who led them into prostitution (McLaren, 1986: 135/36). Moreover, moral reformers expressed outrage over the sexual exploitation of women and children, and as a strategy to combat the sex trade, some Christian women's groups threatened to publish the names of men who purchased sexual services (Backhouse, 1991: 237). Despite the claim of protecting young women and children involved in prostitution, however, laws that criminalized prostitutes continued to be enforced (McLaren, 1986: 139). Reformers wanted male exploiters punished, but when it came to enforcement it was female prostitutes who were arrested (O'Connell, 1988: 116/117; Shaver, 1994: 162).

> Not only the prostitutes, but the procurers who set them up in a life of prostitution, the pimps who lived off their earnings, the owners and keepers of bawdy houses, and the men who frequented their establishments were all theoretically subject to criminal punishment. When it came time for enforcement, however, a completely male police force and judiciary applied the statutes almost exclusively against women (Backhouse, 1985: 388).

The early 1900s witnessed renewed efforts to protect young women and children from the exploitative aspects of prostitution (McLaren, 1986: 142). Sullivan (1986: 180) notes that several child protection statutes were enacted to prevent children from entering a life of prostitution. Government officials had the power to detain children who were "wandering" or without a "settled place of abode" (Backhouse, 1991: 243) and whose parents were deemed to be involved in sexually inappropriate behaviours (Sullivan, 1986: 180). However, many youth found themselves serving lengthy prison sentences under the guise of rehabilitation:

> ...these rehabilitative approaches, promoted by middle and upper class women who advanced the argument that hookers were blameless for their condition, sometimes resulted in greater discrimination. It was the working class and immigrant families who found their children apprehended, and it was again the working class prostitutes who served terms in the new women's prisons" (Sullivan, 1986: 180).

The actions of male customers and the conditions that led to youth prostitution, including male sexual

socialization and female poverty, were largely ignored. In many respects, social reformers failed to recognize a young woman's decision to enter prostitution "... in terms of the prepubescent violation of their sexuality, the menial wages and constricting and often sexually abusive environments in which they were forced to work..." (McLaren, 1986: 153). (For detailed discussions of conditions faced by young prostitutes during this period, see Nilsen, 1980 and Rottenberg, 1974.)

Concerns over the "white slave trade" in women and children surfaced at the beginning of the twentieth century. Various women's groups, social purists and religious organizations lobbied the federal government to enact laws to confront prostitution and criminalize the international trade of young women (McLaren, 1986: 147). In response, the government amended legislation pertaining to procuring and living on the avails of prostitution (Shaver, 1994: 128).

In 1913, the *Criminal Code of Canada* was amended to bolster procurement and bawdy-house laws (Larsen, 1992: 140; McLaren, 1986: 149). In part, the changes were enacted to address the short-comings of earlier laws that discriminated against females involved in prostitution (Larsen, 1992: 139/140). However, legal amendments did not alter discriminatory law enforcement practices.

Following the 1913 changes there was an increase in the number of charges for procuring, pimping and living on the avails of prostitution (Larsen, 1992: 140; McLaren, 1986: 151). Notwithstanding, it was primarily female prostitutes who were arrested. Men who purchased sexual services did so with little fear of criminal censure (Larsen, 1992: 139):

> A complex of legal provisions which was designed primarily to attack exploiters of prostitutes was used predominately to harass and victimize the prostitutes themselves. True for the first time prosecutions were brought in some numbers against the procurers and pimps, but their number pales into insignificance alongside the host of women charged with vagrancy and bawdy house offences (McLaren, 1986: 151).

Interestingly, there is a scarcity of academic literature on prostitution-related legislation and law enforcement activities from the First World War to the 1960s. This is further evidenced in Lowman's (2001) on-going analysis of prostitution-related items in the *Globe and Mail*, *Vancouver Sun* and *Province* from 1920 to 1975, which reveals "few items on prostitution" during this period. Lowman argues that, "...after the flurry of interest in prostitution at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was more than sixty years before prostitution became a national issue again."

2.2 The Soliciting Law and Concerns with Youth Involvement in Prostitution

Beginning in the 1970s, the academic literature describes two main developments in attempts to confront and suppress prostitution. First, beginning with the enactment of the soliciting law in 1972, there was a growing concern with the visibility of street prostitution and its associated nuisances (Lowman, 1986). During this period, female prostitutes working on the streets faced harassment by residents and police who wanted prostitution removed from certain areas of the city. Second, starting in 1980 there was an increased recognition of child sexual abuse and exploitation cases (Hornick and Bolitho, 1992: xiv; Sullivan, 1986: 177). In response to concerns about the sexual abuse of youth the federal government convened the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (Badgley, 1984). Given the limited information available about youth prostitution in Canada, the committee was later mandated to carry out research on the youth sex trade (Badgley, 1984; Hornick and Bolitho, 1992; Lowman et al., 1986).

It was not until 1972 that the federal government repealed the vagrancy law and replaced it with legislation that criminalized public solicitation for the purposes of prostitution. Section 195.1 of the *Criminal Code of Canada* stated: "Every person who solicits any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction." Under this law the section defining a prostitute as female was removed, and, at least theoretically, the actions of male customers were not excluded (cf. Boyle and Noonan, 1986: 229/30; Lowman, 1991a: 118).

Despite the gender-neutral wording of the soliciting law, the evidence suggests that prostitutes continued to be the main focus of law enforcement (Lowman, 1997: 154). In this regard, as Boyle and Noonan (1986: 264) suggest, the gender-neutral wording of the soliciting law only veiled discriminatory practices embedded in law enforcement and judicial decision making.

During this period, there was much debate in the courts as to whether a male could be charged with soliciting for

the purposes of prostitution. The British Columbia courts ruled that a client could not be found guilty of soliciting, while the Ontario courts ruled they could (Lowman, 1997: 154). Amidst the confusion over the meaning and applicability of the soliciting law came a series of court decisions commonly thought to have rendered the law unenforceable (Lowman, 1997: 157). The main catalyst was the now infamous 1978 *Hutt* decision in which the Supreme Court of Canada determined that, for someone to solicit for the purpose of prostitution, their behaviour had to be "pressing and persistent" (Lowman, 1997: 154). Some police spokespersons argued the decision emasculated the soliciting law and therefore made it difficult to control street prostitution (Lowman, 1986: 1). The view at the time was that the number of adult and youth prostitutes working on the streets increased substantially following the court decisions (Lowman, 1986).

In contrast to the events attributed to the *Hutt* decision stands Lowman's claim that, "... the evidence available does not appear to show that the *Hutt* decision had a significant impact on the geography of the city's [Vancouver's] prostitution 'strolls': at most it consolidated a pattern already well established" (Lowman, 1986: 2; see also, 1991). During the early 1970s prostitution had already expanded into new areas of the city:

> As early as 1972, journalists were starting to talk about the problems besetting Vancouver's West End, the most densely populated square mile in Canada, and that hitherto had not been thought of as a red light district (Lowman, 1992: 72).

Further, in 1975, three years before the *Hutt* decision, an investigation by the Vancouver police resulted in the closure of two prominent cabarets that acted as a place for prostitutes to meet their customers (Lowman, 1986: 8). The net effect of these closures was to displace prostitutes onto the streets (Lowman, 1992b: 73) and encourage the trade to expand into areas of the city that had not formerly contained prostitution strolls (Lowman, 1986: 8).

Similar patterns of displacement occurred in Toronto during the late 1970s when, in an effort to "clean up Yonge Street" (cf. Kinsman, 1994: 177), prostitutes were forced to turn to the streets to ply their trade (Brock, 1998: 43). Brock notes long-standing plans for a "... renewal of commercial development on Yonge Street" (1998: 32). As a result of this gentrification process, certain resident groups and politicians wanted to clear the area of several body-rub, or massage parlours – meeting places for prostitutes and their customers (Brock, 1998: 31/32). During the attack on the Yonge Street sex industry, a twelve-year-old "shoeshine boy", Emanual Jaques, was found dead next to a well-known massage parlour. "Emanual Jaques had been sexually assaulted and reportedly drowned in a sink during what *McLean's* described as a 12-hour orgy of abuse by homosexuals" (Brock, 1998: 35). The ensuing public panic led the police on a series of bawdy house raids that resulted in the closure of the Yonge Street massage parlours, and the subsequent displacement of prostitutes onto the streets (Brock, 1998: 43). In this regard the Jaques case was a catalyst for an already established agenda to clean-up Yonge Street (Brock, 1998: 35).

The literature therefore suggests that the *Hutt* decision was not responsible for the expansion of the street trade, but that the court decision acted as a timely rationale for those demanding new laws to control and suppress the street trade (Lowman, 1988: 74). Indeed, it appears that the Vancouver police stopped enforcing the soliciting law to compel legislators to enact new laws. As Larsen (1992: 173) argues, "... the Vancouver police clearly wanted tougher laws dealing with street prostitution, and it appears that their 'hands off' attitude was designed to instigate public pressure on politicians." In the process, the literature notes that the police helped construct the "public nuisance problem" as being central to the street prostitution debate (cf. Kinsman, 1994: 177).

2.3 The Fraser Committee

Amidst concerns about the expansion of prostitution on certain streets, the federal government convened the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (Fraser Committee, 1985). The Fraser Committee was instructed to "... study the problems associated with pornography and prostitution, and carry out a program of sociolegal research to provide a basis for its work (Lowman et al., 1986: xiii). To facilitate this mandate, the Department of Justice Canada commissioned a series of studies that were categorized into three groups: 1) regional studies that examined the business of prostitution and its control across Canada; 2) a national population study that gathered opinions about prostitution; 3) comparative studies that examined approaches to prostitution in Europe, Asia, Arabia, South America, and the United States (cf. Sansfaçon, 1984) (for Working Papers, see Crook, 1984; El Komos, 1984; Fleischman, 1984; Gemme et al., 1984; Haug and Cini, 1984; Jayewardene, Juliani and Talbot, 1984;

Kiedrowski and Van Dijk, 1984; Laut, 1984; Lowman, 1984; Peat Marwick, 1984; Sansfaçon, 1984(a) and 1984(b)). The Fraser Committee released its recommendations on 23 April 1985.[8]

The Fraser Committee argued that the soliciting law failed to meet its "theoretical object" of reducing prostitution and "...instead has operated in a way which victimizes and dehumanizes the prostitute" (Fraser, 1985: 533). The Committee called on the government to develop long-term programs to address the social and economic conditions faced by women involved in prostitution (Fraser, 1985: 525/26).

In the short-term, the Fraser Committee argued that street prostitution is not likely to disappear as long as the government refuses to identify a location for it to occur (Fraser, 1985: 534; cf. Lowman, 1992a: 10). In particular, the Committee recognized the need to address the public nuisances associated with street prostitution by identifying (private) locations where prostitution could occur (Fraser, 1985: 534-540). To overcome this problem the Committee recommended comprehensive changes to the *Criminal Code*, including, among other things, repealing the bawdy house laws to allow one or two prostitutes over the age of eighteen to employ themselves in a private abode (Fraser, 1985: 538) and empowering provincial governments to license "small-scale" prostitution establishments (Fraser, 1985: 546). "[t]his approach suggested that better control of the public nuisance aspects of the trade would be best facilitated by curtailing the power of the criminal law over prostitution in private places" (Lowman, 1991a: 309).

When it came to research and issues pertaining to "youth prostitution," the Fraser Committee largely deferred to the Badgley Committee (1984). However, one notable exception was that the Fraser Committee (1985: 658/59) disagreed with Badgley's recommendation to criminalize young prostitutes as a means of protection. The Fraser Committee argued that creating an age-specific offence contradicted the spirit of the *Young Offenders Act*. However, the Fraser Committee did recommend new legislation censuring the sexual procurement of a person under the age of 18 for prostitution-related purposes. In addition, the Committee encouraged the enactment of specific legislation to criminalize those who purchase, or attempt to purchase, the sexual services of youth (1985: 659).

> We think it is essential that the *Criminal Code* contain an offence specifically framed around sexual activity for reward with a person under 18...In our opinion, a person who is even approached by an adult should be able to invoke the law enforcement process. To await the completion of the sexual activity before triggering the criminal process is to lose a substantial portion of the deterrent value of this provision...The section is directed toward the party whom we think is more likely to be the "aggressor" in the contact between the user and provider of sexual services of youth.

2.4 The Badgley Committee

In an effort to respond to a growing concern about youth participation in the sex trade, the Canadian government mandated the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (Badgley Committee, 1984) to also address youth prostitution in its review of child abuse (Lowman, 1986: 195).

Released one year prior to the Fraser Report, the Badgley Report contained 52 recommendations to help confront the sexual exploitation of youth, including several conclusions and recommendations the Committee made following interviews with 229 "juvenile prostitutes" (Badgley Committee, 1984: 967). The Badgley Committee's research data produced substantial biographical information about youth prostitutes in Canada (Clark, 1986: 106); before this, academic information concerning the dynamics of "adolescent prostitution" was mainly from the United States (for example, Weisberg, 1985). To date, the Badgley Report remains a "definitive and official source of data on the sexual abuse of children and youths in Canada" (Brock, 1998: 115).

Among the Committee's findings:

- A majority of young prostitutes were female (1984: 969).

[8] For a critique of the Fraser Report, see Kanter, 1985; Lowman et al., 1986; O'Connell, 1988.

- 27.6 % of the females and 13.1 % of the males they interviewed were under 16 years of age (1984: 984).
- Young prostitutes came from families that represent a variety of social classes, although a "large portion" was from "middle class" homes (1984: 973).[9]
- The Badgley Committee uncovered important information about home life experiences of runaway youths before they became involved in street prostitution. For many youths the choice to run away was precipitated by home situations they described as intolerable.

> The National Juvenile Prostitution Survey's findings clearly show that running away from home was an experience shared by most of the youths who later became juvenile prostitutes. For many of them, running away represented an immediate means of escaping from some aspect of their home environment with which they found it impossible to cope, rather than serving as an avenue through which to pursue some positive long-term goals (Badgley Committee, 1984: 983).

- A majority of youths characterized their childhood and teenage experiences as troubled and unhappy (Badgley, 1984: 985).
- Many males involved in prostitution ran away from home because they were ridiculed and ostracized for their homosexual preferences (1984: 969). With little support from family members and a homophobic school environment, many young males turned to the streets where they believed "...they could meet people of like sexual preferences, and where they could escape the hostility and derision of family and friends" (Badgley Committee, 1984: 970).
- Young prostitutes were relatively uneducated compared to other Canadians of the same age. The Committee noted that, once on the streets, available social services for youth prostitutes were "...ineffective and had provided inadequate protection and assistance" (1984: 986). Based on this finding, the Committee recommended the development of specialized services to assist young prostitutes and to prevent youth at risk from becoming involved in prostitution (1984: 986).

2.5 The Badgley Committee on Past Sexual Experiences of Young Prostitutes

Youth interviewed for the Badgley Report were asked to recall their "early sexual experiences," including situations where they were sexually abused by family members (1984: 976). The Committee compared survey information from interviews with "juvenile prostitutes" to data obtained from the National Population Survey to determine if there was any relationship between pervious sexual experiences and becoming involved in prostitution. The result led the Committee to argue that "...youths who later became juvenile prostitutes were no more at risk when they were growing up than other Canadian children and youths of having been victims of sexual offences" (1984: 978).

Several commentators criticized the Badgley Committee's findings about past sexual experiences (i.e., Lowman et al., 1986; Bagley, 1985). Among these criticisms:

- The Committee used incommensurate data when it compared the Juvenile Prostitution Survey, which asked youth about unwanted sexual acts involving "threats or force" to which they had unwillingly submitted, and the National Population Survey, which asked interviewees about their first unwanted sexual experience (Bagley 1985 and 1986; Brock, 1998 and Lowman, 1986 and 1987).
- Interviews conducted for the Badgley Report included sexually exploited youths under the age of 20, while the National Population survey included people between 17 and 70 years of age (Bagley and Young, 1987). Lowman (1986) argued the age differences may have led respondents in the two studies to recall

[9] Lowman (1987: 102) suggested the Badgley Committee's youth prostitution survey lacked the necessary detail to make conclusions about class background of youth prostitutes.

past sexual experiences differently (p 197). Further, "...young prostitutes, because of their street experiences, may interpret what constitutes an 'unwanted sexual act' quite differently from non-prostitutes" (Lowman, 1986: 197).

- The Badgley Committee downplayed the seriousness of the abuse experienced by young prostitutes, and they failed to explain that young prostitutes were assaulted at a much younger age than the general population (Bagley, 1987).
- The National Population Survey used self-administered questionnaires, while survey data produced for the Badgley Committee came from face-to-face interviews; these different methods of generating data may produce different types of responses (Bagley, 1986 and Lowman, 1987).

Lowman (1987: 103) challenged Badgley's interpretation of information on past sexual experiences by comparing categories from the National Population Survey and the Juvenile Prostitution Survey that focused on unwanted sexual experiences involving "threat or force." From this, he concludes:

> ... that prostitutes were *twice as likely* to have experienced a first unwanted intrafamilial sexual act involving force or threats of force as other members of the Canadian population. The important statistic not provided by the Badgley Committee was the number of prostitutes whose first 'unwanted sexual experience' during childhood did not involve 'threats or force' (Lowman, 1987: 103).

Bagley also reinterpreted Badgley's data to suggest that prior to entering the street life, young prostitutes experienced twice as much abuse as the general population. Not every young prostitute experienced unwanted sexual acts while growing up (conversely, not every sexually abused youth becomes involved in prostitution) (Lowman, 1987: 104; Brock, 1998: 113); nevertheless, the literature suggests the Badgley Committee (1984) underestimated this important factor related to the decision of some youth to leave home at a young age, and their subsequent choice to live on the street and become involved in prostitution.

2.6 Recommendations of the Badgley Committee

The Badgley Committee offered numerous recommendations to address "youth prostitution." The Committee (1984) argued that:

- The realities of youth prostitution justified the enactment of specific legislation aimed at customers (1984: 1055/56).
- The Committee (1984: 1056) further argued, "...[our] findings indicate that the clients of prostitutes pose at least an equal if not greater public nuisance than do the prostitutes themselves." As a result, they recommended legislation that would make the sexual procurement of youth an indictable offence (Badgley, 1984: 1055/56).
- They argued it was necessary to criminalize young prostitutes to keep them from a life of prostitution (1984: 1046), and therefore, the Committee recommended the enactment of a specific offence for people under 18 years of age who sell sexual services (Badgley, 1984: 95).

These recommendations raised numerous questions. As previously mentioned, the Fraser Committee (1985) disagreed with Badgley's recommendation to criminalize young prostitutes as a means of protection, arguing that creating an age-specific offence contradicted the spirit of the *Young Offender Act*. Other researchers argued that the Committee's suggestion to criminalize young prostitutes would only serve to entrench youth in prostitution, and it ignores factors that help make prostitution a choice for some youth (Appleford, 1986; Brock, 1998: 116; Lowman, 1986: 212). Further, as Brock notes:

> This measure for the 'protection' of young prostitutes was advanced in contradiction to the committee's statement that 'there is no desire on the part of the committee to affix a criminal label to any juvenile prostitute,' and its acknowledgment that criminalization would not serve as a deterrent to young persons entering prostitution (1998: 106).

Overall, the Badgley Committee was criticized for ignoring many of the structural factors that generate youth prostitution. Lorenne Clark (1986: 98) criticized the Badgley Committee for its paternalistic tone and its inability to recognize male sexual socialization as a mitigating factor in the sexual exploitation of children and youth:

> They [Badgley] feel no need to stop and reflect upon the fact that it is males who are overwhelmingly responsible for this state of affairs. Nowhere do they discuss why this is so and how it can be changed. They seem simply to assume that of course we realize this, as we all do: boys will be boys, after all.

Likewise, Brock and Kinsman (1986) criticized the Badgley Committee for obfuscating gender power relations that contribute to male sexual violence against children and youths, and "...the historical process which has structured patriarchal relations, youth oppression and the present policies of sexual rule, thereby preparing us to deal with them as natural and thus confining our field of vision to a narrow, legally defined realm" (1986: 124). Sullivan (1986) criticized the Committee for ignoring many of the social economic factors that make prostitution a "significant point of entry into the labor force for some young workers." Further, Lowman (1986: 212) questioned the Badgley Committee for not addressing the "...structural context of youth prostitution," such as the discussions of gender, class and power imbalances between adults and youth, all factors that help to generate the sexual procurement of youth (Lowman, 1986: 212).

2.7 The Federal Government's Response to Badgley and Fraser

Following on the heels of the Badgley (1984) and Fraser (1985) Committees, the federal government initiated two important legislative policy changes. First, in December 1985 they enacted a new law to confront street prostitution. Second, in January 1988, new legislation was introduced to criminalize child sexual abuse, which included criminalizing the sexual procurement of youth.

2.8 The Communicating Law

On December 20, 1985, the federal government repealed the soliciting law and replaced it with legislation that criminalized public communication for the purpose of buying or selling sexual services. The new legislation ignored the Fraser Committee's recommendation that there be wholesale revision of Canadian prostitution law. The new legislation made it clear that prostitutes and customers meeting on the streets were equally culpable under the law (cf. Lowman, 1991a: 301/302). By criminalizing public communications for the purpose of buying or selling sex, the legislation confirmed the federal government's commitment to confronting visible manifestations of prostitution (cf. Lowman, 1992: 66), thus prioritizing concerns about the public "nuisances" associated with the trade.

Initial survey data on the impact of the communicating law in some Canadian jurisdictions suggested that female prostitutes continued to be punished more frequently than male clients. Regional assessments commissioned by Justice Canada (Brannigan et al., 1989; Gemme et al., 1989; Graves, 1989; Lowman, 1989; Moyer and Carrington, 1989) revealed that police enforcement patterns focused primarily on female prostitutes. "...data from nine of the ten Canadian cities studied indicate that more prostitutes than customers are charged and that their sentences are more severe" (Shaver, 1994: 133; also see, Lowman, 1992b). However, Fleischman (1989: 41) noted considerable jurisdictional differences in charge rates for customers and prostitutes; in Vancouver and Montreal, a greater number of prostitutes were charged than customers. In Toronto, the charge rates were close to equal for prostitutes and their clients. Furthermore, youth prostitutes in Vancouver (as well as other jurisdictions) continued to be targets of law enforcement; in 1986 and 1987, 10% of all communicating charges were levied against youth (Lowman, 1989: 200).

Concern also surfaced about the role of the communicating law in perpetuating violence against female prostitutes (Lowman, 1989: 203; O'Connell, 1988: 142/43). Vigorous enforcement of the new law forced female (both youth and adults) prostitutes to meet their clients in more vulnerable and secluded locations of the city so as to avoid detection by authorities (cf. Lowman, 1989: 203). The argument has been made that prostitutes were more likely to be exposed to dangerous situations because they would need to make quicker decisions before engaging with a client, and meet clients in more secluded areas where there were no witnesses or police officers to assist when clients turned violent. (See next chapter for further discussion of violence against prostitutes.)

2.9 Legislating Protection – Bill C-15

The second important legislative change occurred in 1988 when the federal government introduced Bill C-15 to help address the apparent increase of sexual offences against children and youth. The Bill was to help protect victims of child sexual abuse, raise the number of prosecutions of child sexual abuse cases, increase the severity of sentences and improve conditions for child victims and witnesses (Hornick and Bolitho, 1992: xiv; Schmolka, 1992: 2). "By proclamation of this Bill, the federal government sent a clear message that the protection of children and youths was a priority in Canada and that sexual abuse of children was unacceptable and would not be tolerated" (Hornick and Bolitho, 1992: xiv).

Bill C-15 included provisions that criminalized the sexual procurement of youth. Section 212(2) and (3) (living on the avails of a young prostitute under the age of 18) was amended to make it easier for police to arrest pimps, and the maximum penalty was raised from 10 to 14 years. In addition, s.212(4) criminalized obtaining, or attempting to obtain, the sexual services of someone under the age of 18.

Uniform Crime Reports fail to differentiate between various s.212 charges, rendering it difficult to ascertain the number of section 212(2) and (4) charges across Canada. However, the literature provides some commentary on the effectiveness of legislation aimed at prohibiting the sexual procurement of youth. An early sign that these laws were not effective came from an evaluation commissioned by Department of Justice Canada on the package of laws introduced in Bill C-15 (see, Hornick and Bolitho, 1992; Schmolka, 1992). The evaluation revealed a lack of charges under "subsection 212(2) (living on the avails) and subsection 212(4) (obtaining for sexual purposes)" (Hornick and Bolitho, 1992: xxix). With respect to subsection 212(4), the authors noted that charges could only be obtained if the customer was "caught in the act. Thus traditional police methods are not effective for enforcing" this law (Hornick and Bolitho, 1992: 65).

Lowman and Fraser found that "... during the first six years of the new law's existence, there were apparently only six charges in Vancouver for offering to purchase the sexual services of a youth" (1996: 100). Police officers suggested that s.212(4) was difficult to enforce because to obtain a conviction they must catch the offender "in the act," attempt to use undercover police decoys (and it is difficult to get an officer who appears under the age of 18), or rely on a youth's testimony (which is difficult given that a youth would alienate a potential source of income) (Bittle, 1999; Lowman, 1997; F/P/T, 1998). While Lowman and Fraser (1996) agreed that section 212(4) appears difficult to enforce, he added that response to the ineffectiveness of this legislation was revealing about attitudes towards youth prostitution. For instance, when problems were perceived with the "soliciting law" (from 1978 to 1985), the police and community groups were very vocal about the need to enact new legislation to control and suppress the street trade. "They've mounted no such campaign on behalf of section 212(4)."

In Vancouver, British Columbia some service providers and community activists questioned why s.212(4) was not enforced. In 1996, a Vancouver service agency commissioned a report to examine the lack of s.212(4) charges in British Columbia (Daum, 1996). The author argued that street children and youth must be protected from the sexual advances of pedophiles and sexual predators. Daum berated the police, the courts and politicians for not arresting customers of young prostitutes, and for not fixing the problems associated with the enforcement of s.212(4). In October 1998, another report (produced by the same author) criticized the enforcement of s.212(4) in British Columbia and other Canadian jurisdictions. The author acknowledged an increase in the number of men charged for purchasing, or attempting to purchase, the sexual services of a youth, however, she argued that much more must be done to protect children and youth from sexual exploitation, i.e., more s.212(4) charges and the use of existing sexual offence legislation to prosecute male sexual predators.

In response to concerns about the sexual exploitation of street youth and the ability of police to enforce s.212(4), the federal government amended s.212(4) to make it easier to enforce. Bill C-27 added subsection 212(5), making it illegal to purchase the sexual services of someone under the age of 18, or "who the offender believes is under the age of 18 years" (F/P/T, 1998: 25). This addition was to address police concerns by allowing undercover surveillance officers to present themselves as being under the age of 18 to people who propositioned them. Subsection 212(5) was subsequently repealed due to concerns that the Crown had to prove the accused believed the youth was less than 18 years of age.

2.10 From Villain to Victim: the Context of Policy Responses to Youth Prostitution[10]

A review of the literature concerning the legislative history and development reveals a marked difference in the legal approach towards female prostitutes and men who sexually procure youth. Regardless of age, female prostitutes have been subjected to discriminatory legislation and unequal law enforcement. In contrast to female prostitutes, men associated with the demand aspect of the sex trade have enjoyed relative immunity from the law. As Sullivan notes:

> ...Canadian law as it affects juvenile prostitution has historically been uneven and discriminatory both in its spirit and enforcement, essentially punishing rather than protecting, without significantly affecting those who benefit from prostitution (1986: 11).

Despite a history of discriminatory prostitution-related legislation and law enforcement, there have been some signs of change (cf. Lowman, 1997). During the early 1990s, discussions and efforts to suppress prostitution shifted towards the male client and men who sexually procure youth. Data produced by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics suggested that charge rates for prostitutes and their customers were close to parity. At the same time, national statistics indicated that youth involved in prostitution were not being charged with communicating as frequently as they had in the past (Duchesne, 1997). "The relatively small portion of youth (12 to 17 years-old) charged may reflect their frequent diversion to social service agencies by police" (Duchesne, 1997: 1). Furthermore, some service providers and community members questioned the virtual immunity from the law enjoyed by men who purchase the sexual services of youth, and they lobbied for the protection of youth involved in prostitution (Bittle, 1999).

In 1992 the Federal/Provincial/Territorial (F/P/T) Deputy Justice Ministers instructed a working group on prostitution to examine "legislation, policy and practices concerning prostitution-related activities and bring forward recommendations to address problems posed by prostitution." Youth involvement in prostitution, violence against prostitutes, and neighborhood concerns associated with the street sex trade were earmarked by the working group as primary issues of concern. The Working Group released its final report in December 1998, which included several recommendations with respect to youth involvement in prostitution:

- The development of legal and social intervention strategies to combat youth involvement in the sex trade, and youth involved in s.213 offences should be dealt with as in need of assistance and "distinct from being treated as offenders."
- Increased awareness of the "dynamics of youth involved in prostitution" among criminal justice personnel.
- Amend s.212(4) to make it easier for police to arrest customers of young prostitutes.
- Special witness protection programs to help young prostitutes testify in court against pimps and customers.
- The development of "interdisciplinary protocols" involving child welfare, the police and the crown – using the criminal justice system as a measure of last resort.
- Alternative measures for youth involved in prostitution.
- Improved services (i.e., education, prevention, harm reduction and exit supports) for youth involved in the sex trade "or at risk of such involvement."

By the mid 1990s, a policy shift had occurred whereby young prostitutes were no longer conceptualized as "deviants" or "criminals" in need of punishment. Instead, youth prostitution was viewed as a form of sexual abuse, and therefore young prostitutes were victims who need protection (i.e., the youth prostitute had been redefined as a "victim" not "villain") (see Bittle, 1999 for an account of this philosophical shift in Vancouver, British Columbia). During this period there were numerous youth prostitution-related reports, committees, task forces and initiatives launched by provincial and municipal governments.

There are examples of projects developed to help understand the characteristics and dynamics of the youth sex trade (for example, see LeBlanc, 1997; Sas and Hurley, 1997). There are initiatives and reports aimed at preventing youth involvement in prostitution, i.e., prevention programs for families and schools, and improved services for street involved youth (for example, see British Columbia, 1994; C/S Resors

[10] The phrase "villain to victim" is taken from O'Neil (2001).

Consulting, 1996; Daum and Dion, 1996; Recommendations of the Prostitution Policy, Service and Research Committee for the Calgary Community, 1996; Madsen and Moss, 1996). Other reports focus on harm reduction strategies for youth involved in prostitution, i.e., substance abuse programs, initiatives to reduce violence against prostitutes, and protection for youth witnesses (for example, see Committee for Sexually Exploited Youth in the CRD, 1997; British Columbia, 1994; Halldorson Jackson, 1998). Finally, several committees and reports recommend counseling, education, employment, housing and support services for youth who want to exit prostitution (for example, see C/S Resors Consulting, 1996; Canadian Child Welfare Association, 1987; Safer City Task Force, 1993).

Several recent reports and initiatives emphasize the need for co-operation and communication between agencies responsible for dealing with youth prostitution. The Report of the Working Group on Juvenile Prostitution (Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996) recommended that the Department of Family Services foster networking and coordination among Winnipeg agencies that "provide significant services to juveniles in prostitution and in street life." In 1996, the British Columbia government launched a provincial action plan on prostitution that encouraged police, service providers, parents, youth and communities to work together to develop "initiatives that target pimps and johns, violence towards prostitutes, and safety and nuisance issues in neighbourhoods." Further, Sas and Hurley (1997: 185) recommended an "inter-agency investigative protocol to combat child sexual exploitation, including significant authorities such as the CAS [Children's Aid Society], police, Crown Attorney's office, local boards of education, and health unit." The authors also recommended a national strategy to "combat child sexual abuse."

Regardless of their scope or purpose, the overall theme of these various reports and initiatives is that youth prostitution represents a form of sexual exploitation and that new policy strategies are necessary to protect children and youth in the sex trade. This new policy shift contrasts sharply with the "nuisance" debates that characterized prostitution-related discussions to control and suppress the sex trade during the 1980s.

2.11 The Advent of Secure Care

The most current prostitution-related policy strategy locates youth prostitution in the "child sexual abuse discourse". Such a strategy has enabled government officials to re-examine their role in addressing the youth sex trade from punisher to "protector".

In May 1996, the Alberta government convened the Task Force on Children Involved in Prostitution to address growing concerns with children and youth involved in the sex trade (referred to as the Forsyth Report, 1997). The Task Force was mandated to examine recommendations from previous reports and task forces, explore effective programs that address youth prostitution, and make recommendations for action to the Alberta Family and Social Services Minister.

The basis of the Task Force's work confirmed the growing recognition that youth involved in prostitution are victims of child sexual abuse:

> The Task Force believes these children [young prostitutes] should be seen as victims of abuse. The children, if not abused while at home, are certainly victims of sexual abuse when they are used by either a pimp or john. It is within this philosophical framework that the Task Force formed its recommendations (1997: 3).

A corollary to this philosophical framework was the Task Force's suggestion that prostitution is not a "... choice that children make from a healthy vantage point" (1997: 3).

The Task Force made several recommendations to help address the "sexual exploitation" of children involved in prostitution, including:

- The need for "collaborative case management."
- More charges under section 212(4) of the *Criminal Code*.
- A media campaign to raise awareness, and improved prevention and intervention techniques.
- A "Children Involved in Prostitution Act" to provide "...legislative support for a continuum of services for children involved in prostitution." This legislation would define young prostitutes as "victims of sexual abuse," provide a continuum of service approach for youth interested in exiting prostitution and for those "not wishing to leave," and contemplate penalties directed at pimps and johns.

In response to the Forsyth Report, the Alberta government introduced the *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act* (*PCHIP Act*), which as a child welfare response "...protects children involved in prostitution and helps them to end their involvement in prostitution" (Deis et al., 2000: 1). The new legislation defines children involved in prostitution as "victims of sexual abuse," therefore requiring "victim-protection services and support." This *Act* empowers police and child welfare workers to detain children "...whose safety is at risk, but who will not voluntarily end their involvement in prostitution" (Alberta Government Press Release, March 1999). Children are detained in "protective confinement" for a 72-hour assessment, where they receive emergency care and treatment. The *Act* also empowers police to arrest pimps and johns who purchase sexual services from a youth. The *PCHIP Act* came into force on February 1, 1999.

The constitutionality of this policy response was challenged early after the legislation was introduced. In September 1999, two youth were detained under the *PCHIP Act* after police found them working in conditions deemed to be consistent with a "trick pad." During a show cause hearing, defense counsel issued notice that they would seek application "...impugning the constitutional validity of the *Act*" (for details, see *Alberta v. K.B. and M.J. [2000] A.J. No. 876 Prov. Ct.*). The constitutional argument was heard on November 15, 1999, where Jordan P.C.J. ruled the *Act* was unconstitutional because of the absence of procedural steps, "...which would allow each and every one of the children to appear before a judge, with the assistance of counsel, to participate in an adversarial process where they can challenge the Director's [child welfare official] evidence and present their own evidence" (*Alberta v. K.B. and M.J. [2000] A.J. No. 876 Prov. Ct.* at paragraph 57).

In response to the decision in *Alberta v. K.B. and M.J.*, the Alberta government tabled amendments to the *PCHIP Act* to ensure that "...children's rights are protected and enable them to receive additional care and support" (Alberta Government Press Release, November 2001). In addition to extending the confinement period from three to five days, the amendments empower child welfare authorities to apply for a maximum of "two additional confinement periods of up to 21 days each." The press release announcing the amendments states: "This additional time will enable social workers to stabilize the child, help break the cycle of abuse and begin the recovery process in a safe and secure environment" (Alberta Government Press Release, November 2001).[11]

At the same time that Alberta was developing its policy, a similar process emerged in British Columbia surrounding the use of secure care. In 1998, in response to public concerns about youth at risk of harm, the British Columbia Minister of Children and Families launched a working group to decide whether the provincial government should "develop options for secure treatment of high-risk children and youth" (Secure Care Working Group - SCWG, 1998). The SCWG noted that intervening in the lives of children and youth involves a difficult balance between "positive and negative effects." Nevertheless, the SCWG believed the state must develop ways to protect children and youth from abuse. Parents and service providers expressed frustration with the inability to intervene in the lives of youth, compounded by a lack of services (e.g., detox services) and education programs. The SCWG advocated a "safe care" strategy that would allow officials to detain youth to make assessments, provide services, and develop plans of care (e.g., harm prevention strategies). The SCWG argued:

> Holding children and youth against their will is not a comfortable prospect for anyone. At the same time, however, the harming of children and youth through abuse of alcohol and other drugs and sexual exploitation cannot be tolerated. The working group agrees that the problems of high-risk children and youth need to be addressed (SCWG, 1998: 6).

In response to the SCWG report, the province of British Columbia introduced the *Secure Care Act* to "...give parents and authorities the power to get help for high-risk children and youth who are unable or unwilling to help themselves." The *Act* is not limited to youth prostitution and includes other forms of "self-harm, such as severe drug addiction" (British Columbia Press Release, June 2000). The B.C. legislation empowers a parent, guardian, or director of secure care to make an application to have a child apprehended into secure care for up to 30 days. The Secure Care Board has the authority to issue a secure care certificate: if the child has an "emotional or behavioural condition" that puts them in harm; the child is "unable or unwilling to take steps to reduce risk;" there are no other "less intrusive" options for addressing the risk; and, consent has been

[11] Following the introduction of *PCHIP Act* amendments, a judicial review of *Alberta v. K.B. and M.J.* (see *Director of Child Welfare v. K.B. and M.J. [2000] ABQB*) overturned the lower court decision, ruling the objective of protecting children from sexual abuse meets the "proportionality requirement."

obtained from the Ministry of Children and Families. In emergency cases, authorities will be empowered to "... ensure the safety of a young person by detaining them for up to 72 hours for assessment and arrangement of treatment and support services."

It is expected that British Columbia's *Secure Care Act* will be enacted in fall 2001. In the meantime, other Canadian jurisdictions are also contemplating the introduction of secure care-type legislation (e.g., Ontario and Nova Scotia). For instance, in December 2000, the Ontario government introduced *An Act to Protect Children from Sexual Exploitation and to amend the Highway Traffic Act*, which would empower a police officer or children's aid society worker to:

> ... apprehend a child under 18 years of age, with or without a warrant, if the police officer or worker has reasonable grounds to believe that the child has been sexually exploited for commercial purposes or is at risk of sexual exploitation for commercial purposes in prostitution, pornography, adult entertainment facilities, massage parlours, escort services, sex lines and other sexual activities carried on for monetary gain.

The *Act* would permit the confinement of a child for a maximum of 30 days. The Ontario legislation died on the order table, but is expected to be re-introduced during a future session of the Ontario legislature.

2.12 Problems with Secure Care as a Policy Option

While relatively new, there is a paucity of critical commentary in the literature that specifically discusses secure care legislation as a policy option to address youth prostitution. However, given the controversial nature of this legislation, as evidenced in the constitutional challenge, it is expected that commentaries and articles about this legislation are forthcoming.

Critics of secure care legislation raise concerns around the protection of a youth's legal rights. For example, in *Alberta v. K.B. and M.J.*, Jordan P.C.J. ruled Alberta's secure care legislation was unconstitutional because it failed to provide adequate procedural protections (e.g., safeguards for a youth to challenge a secure care determination). In its response to the Secure Care Working Group, the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association (BCCLA) pondered whether secure care legislation simply violates a youth's civil liberties or is a necessary violation to promote the civil liberties and healthy development of children and youth (BCCLA, 1999: 7). In determining a balance between "beneficial versus negative impacts," the BCCLA argued:

> ... that the beneficial impacts of secure care clearly outweigh the negatives: the significant chance of creating a better future for children/youth at risk with a sincere and proper effort using appropriate resources by society outweighs the negative impacts of forcing children/youth to forego behaviour that is clearly harmful. After all, we are considering the situation of very young persons who likely do not have the capacity or experience for understanding the short, medium and long-term implications of their choices (1999: 8).

In opposition to the BCCLA position, Alexandra Highcrest, a former prostitute and writer on the sex trade, criticizes the secure care approach for ignoring the broader social and economic conditions that make prostitution a choice for some women and children. In a *Globe and Mail* commentary (August 14, 200: A13), Highcrest notes that, when youth run away or are "thrown away" from home, they "... enter a world where they have no influence, few options for assistance, and fewer opportunities, yet their needs and desires are the same as those of adults. For many young people, prostitution holds the key to survival" (Highcrest, 2000). Questioning the wisdom of secure care, Highcrest concludes:

> When poverty and desperation drape their cold arms around the shoulders of a 16-year old girl and steer her toward her next trick, how will we respond? Will we simply toss her into lock-up for three days? Canada's prostitution laws don't protect anyone from anything. What they do is control where and how the business is conducted. Alberta's legislation does just that; it drives child prostitutes even further underground, farther away from any real help that they should be able to get elsewhere (Highcrest, 2000).

Researchers have also raised concerns about the implications of the sexual abuse discourse to

characterize youth involvement in prostitution (language that underpins the secure care movement). Sullivan (1992) ponders the benefits of law reforms related to the sexual abuse of youth, arguing that we conceptualize our response to child sexual abuse (including prostitution) within a "professional liberal welfare state" model. As a result, the discourse produced by the Badgley Report, and upheld by legislative reform, have paved the way for "the regulation of sexual behaviour in adolescents and families within the context of professionalization of social and family relations, and the social reproduction of families to consume the service commodities produced by a helping professional in the post-industrial economy."

In her critical analysis of the construction of youth prostitution as a social problem, Brock (1998) reveals how the work of the Badgley Committee helped redefine youth prostitution as child sexual abuse. As Lowman (2001) notes, the Badgley report "...marks a decisive point in the Canadian literature because it helped introduce the idea that although the Canadian age of consent is 14, prostitution involving 14 to 17 year-olds is a form of *sexual* abuse" (emphasis original). In the process, the Badgley report propelled the demand for the expansion of "criminal law and social services, despite the questionable adequacy of these measures in meeting the needs of young prostitutes" (Brock, 1998). Brock cautions that more legislation to control prostitution only serves to punish people involved in the sex trade. Instead, we must challenge the social conditions that make prostitution a favorable choice for some women and young people.

Bittle (1999) echoes Brock's point that youth prostitution has been redefined as child sexual abuse. The author conducted 32 qualitative interviews with various criminal justice personnel, social service professionals and government representatives in British Columbia to examine claims making activities associated with s.212(4) of the *Criminal Code* (legislation prohibiting purchasing, or attempting to purchase, the sexual services of a youth). The findings indicate that reform efforts to encourage the enforcement of s.212(4) were expedited by a rhetorical system that conceptualized youth prostitution as sexual abuse and exploitation. Such a shift reinforces state ownership of youth prostitution as a social problem, which does not include the engagement of youth in the development of policies that directly impact their everyday lives.

Pheterson (1996) argues that social and legal strategies used to intervene in the lives of street involved youth have perpetuated the treatment of this population as "outlaw non-citizens" who are "dispensable, unworthy and lesser beings." Pheterson warns that protectionist discourses are euphemisms for control: "that control is clothed in language of 'protection,' 'prevention,' 're-habilitation' and 're-insertion' of 'victims' but the message is consistently a prohibition of self-determination."

A similar conceptual policy shift has also occurred in Britain, where youth involved in the sex trade have become identified as victims, and the clients who purchase their sexual services are treated as child abusers (see Barrett, 1998; O'Neill, 2001). In her feminist socio-cultural analysis of prostitution, Maggie O'Neill questions the wisdom of this shift:

> ...treating children and young people as 'victims' is not necessarily going to engender positive outcomes, and the 'hard to reach' young people will still end up in secure environments, in the care of the local authority or in the criminal justice system. Analogous to the literature on domestic violence, treating young people as 'survivors' rather than 'victims' may be a better approach (2001: 98).

O'Neill contends that our focus should be upon those (men) who purchase the sexual services of young people. At the same time, we need to examine and explore "...the roles and relationships young people have with the 'adults' occupying positions of power and authority in their lives as well as the issue of young people's citizenship rights in contemporary Western society" (O'Neill, 2001: 99).

2.13 Conclusion: Common Themes in Legislative and Policy Attempts to Address Youth Prostitution

An overview of the literature reveals the ongoing attention that the involvement of youth in prostitution-related activities has garnered in Canada. This is evidenced in the 1800s with concerns about the white slavery trade of women and children, and includes more recent concerns within the last 15 years over the sexual victimization and exploitation of youth involved in prostitution. The mid-1980s witnessed unprecedented research and policy attention on youth prostitution. As a result of this process, legislation that pertains directly to youth prostitution was enacted in Canada, and a combination of policy responses was introduced. Most recently, several Canadian jurisdictions have responded

to youth prostitution as sexual abuse and exploitation of children (for example, see Recommendations of the Prostitution Policy, Service and Research Committee for the Calgary Community, 1996; Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat, 1996), and implemented new programs and strategies to protect sexually exploited youth involved in prostitution (British Columbia, 1994, 1996, and 1997). The introduction of secure care in Alberta (and similarly proposed legislation in B.C. and Ontario) represents the most recent attempt to protect youth involved in the sex trade.

Policy attempts to hold men who sexually procure youth accountable for their actions is a corollary of recent efforts to protect youth involved in prostitution. In 1996, the Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat suggested that convicted procurers of young prostitutes be listed on a child abuse registry, and they introduced legislation permitting the seizure of vehicles used for prostitution related offences. In addition, various initiatives have been launched to develop techniques to enforce s 212(4) of the *Criminal Code* and target men who sexually procure youth (for example, see British Columbia, 1996 and 1997). However, the literature questions these policy strategies that aim to hold men who sexually procure youth accountable for their actions, and suggest they have not been realized to the same extent as initiatives to "protect" young prostitutes (e.g., secure care) (see Highcrest, 2000). In this respect, recent policy strategies to address youth involvement in prostitution harkens back to the early 1900s when the claims emphasized the need to protect youth, while the same practice punished youth under the guise of protection. Then, like now, the men who purchased sexual services of youth did so with little fear of running afoul of the law.

3.0 Social Science Literature: An Overview of the Findings and Debates

An overview of the social science literature reveals several issues and themes surrounding the impact of youth involvement in prostitution. This chapter reviews these themes and highlights key findings and debates within the literature.

3.1 Antecedents of Youth Involvement in Prostitution

To understand why some youth become involved in prostitution, many researchers have examined the family background and history of young prostitutes, including their socioeconomic status, educational and work-related experiences, and psychological factors. Within this literature, a salient research topic is the relationship between childhood sexual, physical and emotional abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, several studies in the United States examined the childhood sexual experiences of "juvenile prostitutes." James and Meyerding's (1977; see also, Vitaliano, James and Boyer, 1981) comparison of prostitutes with non-prostitutes revealed that many prostitutes were victims of childhood sexual abuse, resulting in an "abusive sexual identity" that led some youth to enter the sex trade.

Silbert and Pines (1981, 1982a, 1982b and 1983) produced several articles that asserted a positive relationship between early childhood sexual victimization and the subsequent decision to prostitute. The authors invited 200 current and former female prostitutes in the San Francisco Bay area to complete a Sexual Assault Experiences Questionnaire. The data indicated that 60% of the respondents had been victims of childhood sexual exploitation. Every respondent experienced physical and emotional abuse. Many (two-thirds) of the respondents had been sexually abused by father figures, and most stated their early sexual exploitation influenced their decision to become involved in prostitution.

In her research on male and female adolescent prostitution, Weisberg (1985) found that many prostitutes had been victims of intrafamilial childhood physical and sexual abuse. Furthermore, many young males and females in her research had run away from abusive environments. Once on the streets, these youth were exposed to a variety of conditions that influenced their decision to prostitute.

In Canada, concern over the relationship between sexual abuse and involvement in prostitution emerged with the work of the Badgley Committee (1984). As outlined in the previous chapter, the work undertaken by the Badgley Committee was the most extensive research completed on youth involvement in prostitution in Canada. The Committee argued "...youths who later became juvenile prostitutes were no more at risk when they were growing up than other Canadian children and youths of having been victims of sexual offences" (1984: 978). This finding propelled substantial debate about the prevalence and nature of the link between childhood sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution (see previous chapter for details).

Contrary to the Badgley Committee, several Canadian studies report high levels of childhood sexual abuse among street prostitutes (see, for example, Gemme et al., 1984; Lowman, 1984; Bagley and Young, 1987; Earls and David, 1990). Bagley and Young (1987) replicated Silbert and Pines' research on the association between childhood sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution. The authors compared interviews with 45 former prostitutes and results from a group of non-prostitutes who participated in a mental health study (including a second comparison group of 40 women from the mental health study who reported childhood sexual abuse). Bagley and Young concluded that former prostitutes were more likely to have experienced a home life that included family-related alcohol issues, physical and emotional abuse, as well as sexual abuse. Former prostitutes were more likely to attempt suicide, and to exhibit poor mental health and devastated self-esteem.

Earls and David (1990) conducted interviews with male and female "prostitutes" and "non-prostitutes" to compare early family and sexual experiences. Their results suggested a relationship between "sexual interaction with a family member" and becoming involved in prostitution. "Based on our results, it would thus seem that the probability of entering prostitution may be closely related to leaving home at an early age, having a history of sexual abuse, and, in the case of males, having homosexual preferences" (Earls and David, 1990: 10).

Some researchers questioned the nature and prevalence of the association between childhood sexual abuse and involvement in prostitution. Brannigan and Fleischman (1989) challenged the therapeutic view that characterizes youth prostitutes as victims of childhood sexual abuse. The authors reviewed national prosecution data and argued that young prostitutes comprise only a minority of the total number of individuals involved in prostitution. Further, they suggested that research on the association between childhood sexual, physical and emotional abuse, and subsequent involvement in prostitution is guilty of methodological and ideological inconsistencies. To support their claim, Brannigan and Fleischman reviewed two studies on runaways in Canada (Fisher, 1989; Kufeldt and Nimmo, 1987), which downplay the link between child abuse, leaving home at an early age, and becoming involved in prostitution.

Lowman (1989) challenged Brannigan and Fleischman (1989) for uncritically accepting the "estimated incidence of 'physical abuse' in different studies, or the way it is conceptualized as being distinct from or linked to 'sexual abuse'." Lowman (1989) argued that variance in the estimates was the result of the different definitions of abuse, with high figures coming from studies that examine incidents involving non-family and family members and "mid-range" figures including "family members only." Further, many of the low estimates cited by Brannigan and Fleischman (1989) came from studies that included male and female prostitutes (males being less likely to have experienced childhood sexual victimization). Overall, Lowman expressed considerable doubt over Brannigan and Fleischman's argument and suggested their analysis should not be used as a basis to challenge the association between childhood sexual victimization, running away from home at an early age and entering prostitution.

Brannigan and Van Brunschot (1997) agreed that some young prostitutes ran away from physically and sexually abusive home situations. However, they argued that in terms of the prevalence and nature of the link between childhood sexual abuse and prostitution "evidence is inconsistent and contradictory." The authors stated that it is more important to address the delinquent situations a youth encounters after running away from home rather than searching for "unobservable traumas and psychiatric disturbances."[12]

Nandon, Koverola and Schludermann (1998) conducted interviews (based on Silbert's sexual assault experiences questionnaire) with 45 adolescent female prostitutes and 37 adolescent non-prostitutes. Their results echoed previous studies that reported "childhood physical and sexual abuse, intrafamilial violence, substance abuse problems, and poor self-esteem among prostitutes." However, "these factors ... failed to discriminate the prostitutes and the non-prostitute groups." The authors also found that prostitutes ran away from home more frequently than non-prostitutes (suggesting a process of entering prostitution, not a causal link).

More recently, McClanahan, McClelland, Abram and Teplin (1999) suggested that previous research on precursors to prostitution was hindered by small sample sizes, less than ideal comparison groups, and a failure to examine the interrelationship among involvement in prostitution and childhood sexual victimization, running away and drug abuse. McClanahan et al. interviewed 1,142 female detainees at the Cook County Department of Corrections, focusing on history of involvement in prostitution, and experiences of childhood sexual abuse, running away and drug abuse. Despite several limitations (e.g., bias sample of jail detainees; limited opportunity for respondents to discuss experiences), the authors confirmed previous studies, which suggest that childhood sexual abuse and running away are "powerful" risk factors for entry into prostitution. As the authors noted:

> childhood sexual victimization has a lifelong effect on entry into prostitution, doubling or nearly doubling the odds of entry into the sex trade. Having run away, by contrast, affected entry into routine prostitution only in the early adolescent years, increasing the odds of entry into prostitution during that period by more than 40 times (1999: 1611).

Finally, McIntyre (1999) interviewed 50 sex trade workers (41 female) in Calgary, Alberta. Using grounded theory and a feminist approach to data interpretation, McIntyre asked respondents a broad range of "social and demographic questions." Among the findings, McIntyre noted that eighty-two percent of the sample had been "sexually violated" prior to their involvement with the sex trade, while three-quarters had a history of physical abuse.

[12] In another study, Van Brunschot and Brannigan (1992 - Unpublished paper) conducted in-depth interviews with 18 adult female prostitutes, and administered questionnaires to a control group of 95 introductory level junior college and university students. The authors failed to find a significant difference between the two groups with respect to sexual abuse experienced during childhood. The strongest coefficients were criminal records, running away, having children, physical abuse, and non-traditional family arrangements.

3.1.1 Summary of Findings

- The extant research on the antecedents of youth involvement in prostitution suggest that childhood sexual and physical abuse is an important background experience for many youth involved in the sex trade.
- However, based on the research findings, there does not appear to be a direct causal link between these childhood experiences and becoming involved in prostitution (i.e., not every youth involved in prostitution experienced physical and sexual abuse while growing up, and, conversely, not every sexually abused youth becomes involved in prostitution). On the contrary, the decision to prostitute must be understood as a process of "defamiliarization" (i.e., childhood physical and sexual abuse, running away from home, and homelessness) (e.g., see Lowman, 1991b, McIntyre, 1999).[13]

To further examine the process of entering the sex trade, the discussion now turns to the prostitution-related literature on male prostitution, psychological issues and homelessness.

3.2 Young Males Involved in Prostitution

The literature on male prostitution is limited in comparison to the information on the background characteristics and experiences of young female prostitutes. Notwithstanding, some research notes important dynamics associated with young males involved in prostitution.

As with research on female prostitution, the literature suggests that young males involved in the sex trade had run away from physically and sexually abusive home environments (Janus, Burgess and McCormack, 1987; Tremble, 1993; Earls and David, 1989a and 1990). Tremble's research on gay street youth revealed that a majority of respondents had come from abusive home environments or "placement families." Earls and David (1989a and 1990) found that in comparison to control groups, male prostitutes had experienced more physical and sexual abuse while growing up, and had witnessed more violence between parents, more drug and alcohol use among family members, and were more likely to identify male partners as their first sexual experience. Janus, Burgess and McCormack (1987) found that male runaways had experienced more sexual and physical abuse than "randomly sampled [male] populations."

The literature also reveals several characteristics that are unique to the male sex trade. Weisberg (1985) noted that many adolescent males involved in prostitution exhibited homosexual preferences (also see Earls and David, 1989a; Price, Scanlon and Janus, 1984). Several items suggest that many young males involved in prostitution had run away from home because of anti-homosexual/homophobic sentiments in mainstream society (e.g., family, friends, school) (see, Kruks, 1991 and Visano, 1987) – in essence, they were ridiculed and ostracized for their homosexual preferences (Badgley, 1984). In this respect, discriminatory attitudes in "square society" propelled some young males to the street where situational factors contributed to their decision to prostitute.

Allman (1999) reviews the literature on male sex work and AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) in Canada. The objective of the report is to "focus health discussions about male sex work in relation to HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) and AIDS," contribute to a better understanding of male sex work in Canada, and "inform the very pressing legal, ethical and policy debates on the roles and rights of sex workers in Canadian society." Allman (1999) notes the paucity of research on male sex workers, and suggests that most literature fails to recognize that males enter the sex trade for different reasons than females. Available demographic information suggests that male prostitutes are typically younger than female prostitutes and that "troubled home environments" contribute to a young male's entry into the sex trade (1999: 18-20). Allman (1999) focuses on the HIV and AIDS literature, which he characterizes as lacking consistency with respect to "measurements used or of populations sampled." However, viewed holistically, Allman argues "...the evidence does much to refute the label of male sex workers as AIDS vectors... Instead, it suggests that increasingly, male sex workers in Canada are protecting themselves, their clients and their sexual partners from STD (Sexually Transmitted Disease) and HIV infection and transmission" (1999: 72).

[13] Recent research on off-street prostitution suggests the experiences of women involved in this aspect of the sex trade differs substantially from that of women involved in the street trade (Lowman, 2001). For instance, Vanwesenbeeck's (1997) research from the Netherlands suggests that women working in off-street locales had not experienced the same levels of childhood physical and sexual abuse as their street level counterparts. (From: Vanwesenbeeck, I. "Levels of Victimization and Well-Being in Female Sex Workers." Paper presented at Caring for Victims: *9th International Symposium on Victimization*, Amsterdam, 1997).

3.2.1 Summary of Findings

- Many young males involved in prostitution had run away from physically and sexually abusive home environments.
- Some research suggests that young males involved in prostitution had run away from home because of anti-homosexual/homophobic sentiments in mainstream society.

3.3 Psychological Issues

While focusing on the psychological development of young prostitutes and the psychological impact of being involved in the sex trade, Coleman (1989) found that disruptions in the psychosexual and psychological development of young males may contribute to their participation in "destructive and non-ego enhancing prostitution activities." Dorais (1996) suggested that some male victims of childhood sexual abuse might become involved in "aggressive prostitution" as a means of diverting revenge against the true aggressor. Bartek, Krebs and Taylor (1993) conducted interviews with 20 juvenile delinquents involved in prostitution, 20 non-prostitute juvenile delinquents and 20 control subjects. Respondents were asked questions based on the Moral Judgment Interview (MJI) and Joffe and Naditch's coping and defending test. Delinquents characterized as "low coping" made "lower level moral judgments on the prostitution dilemma than on the less personally relevant MJI dilemmas," revealing a relationship between moral reasoning and moral judgment.

The psychology literature provides information on the short- and long-term impact of youth involvement in prostitution. However, most of these studies place the locus of responsibility for the decision to prostitute within the individual. In other words, it does not account for structural variables (e.g., poverty, unemployment, lack of housing) that also impact a youth's decision to enter the sex trade. Some researchers, however, have combined psychological and sociological variables to address this critique. Edney (1988 and 1990) argued that young prostitutes who had been sexually abused during childhood experienced a severe loss of self-esteem, and they exhibited poor physical and mental condition; however, their decision to prostitute was also affected by their social structure (i.e., cultural factors, gender stereotypes, family schools, employment structures, etc.). For young female prostitutes, Edney's (1990) research suggests that "... sexual abuse and the victims' responses to sexual abuse prepared and trained the young girls for prostitution."

3.3.1 Summary of Findings

- Some research suggests the psychological impact of childhood physical and sexual abuse influences a youth's decision to become involved in prostitution.
- Much of the psychological literature does not account for the structural variables that also impact a youth's decision to prostitute (e.g., poverty and homelessness). Some researchers have combined psychological and sociological variables to address this critique.

3.4 Homeless or Runaway Issues

Factors associated with childhood physical and sexual abuse and psychological issues alone cannot fully explain how some youth become involved in prostitution. The homeless and runaway literature also contributes to the understanding of youth involvement in the sex trade.

Many youth who runaway from home (as noted above, often from physically and sexually abusive home environments) may be drawn to the streets by a sense of excitement and a desire for money and independence (Michaud, 1988). However, once on the streets, the research indicates that some of these youth may turn to prostitution as a means of subsistence. Weisberg (1985) found that many youth lacked the education and employment skills necessary to subsist, thereby contributing to their decision to prostitute. Sullivan (1986) echoed this conclusion and noted that situational difficulties associated with the street make prostitution a viable option for some youth, i.e., prostitution for money, shelter and drugs. Michaud (1988) noted that problems associated with homelessness (such as youth unemployment) provide the impetus for some youth to enter prostitution as a source of income.

Webber (1991) conducted in-depth interviews with street people and ex-street people in various Canadian cities. Her research revealed that many youth had runaway from an abusive home life, ended up on the streets, and subsequently became involved in prostitution as a means of survival. The author criticized the criminal justice system for ignoring the living conditions of homeless youth, while poorly funded service agencies struggled to provide essential services.

to street youth - a process that unfolds in an era of "growing poverty and a shrinking social safety net."

John Hagan and Bill McCarthy co-authored several studies examining the relationship between living on the streets and participation in criminal activities (see Hagan and McCarthy, 1992 and 1997; McCarthy and Hagan, 1991, 1992 and 1995; McCarthy, 1995). The authors argue that negative home life experiences contribute to a youth's decision to run away; however, they emphasize that situational difficulties/conditions associated with the street are important variables that precipitate youth involvement in crime and delinquency. Three main themes emerge from Hagan and McCarthy's research:

1) Disruptive family conditions encourage some youth to run away from home.
2) Once on the streets, conditions associated with homelessness propel involvement in crime, i.e., hunger is related to theft of food, problems of youth unemployment and lack of shelter is related to involvement in prostitution.
3) The street culture produces criminal networks - street youth become involved in tutelage (student-teacher) relationships, which increase their participation in crime and delinquency.

Gaetz, O'Grady and Vaillancourt (1999) conducted structured, semi-structured and open-ended interviews with 360 homeless youth in Toronto. Ten percent of the sample was involved in the sex trade as a way to earn money. Employing participatory action research ("those who are intended as the subject of research participate in all aspects of the research, including the design, implementation and analysis of the project"), the authors found that a majority of youth had experienced an "unbearable" home life that propelled them onto the streets. A majority of respondents experienced physical, sexual and emotional abuse before running away or being "thrown away" from home.

Greene, Ennett and Ringwalt (1999) examine the "prevalence and correlates of survival sex among runaway and homeless youth." Results from interviews with 640 shelter youths and 528 street youths in various U.S. cities indicate that 27.5% of the street sample and 9.5% of the shelter sample had previously engaged in survival sex, defined as the selling of sex to "meet subsistence needs." The authors also suggest that length of time away from home, childhood victimization, past criminal behaviour, suicide attempts, past or present drug use, having contracted a STD and pregnancy were positive correlates of having been involved in survival sex. The authors maintain that prostitution is an "economic survival strategy," and suggest that childhood abuse is an important precursor of participation in survival sex.

3.4.1 Summary of Findings

- Youth who run away from home (as noted above, often from physically and sexually abusive home environments) may be drawn to the streets by a sense of excitement and a desire for money and independence.
- Once on the streets, the research indicates that some of these youth may turn to prostitution as a means of subsistence. In this respect, the situational poverty of street involved youth (e.g., below average education, marginal employment skills, youth unemployment, and inadequate social services) make prostitution a viable alternative for some youth.

3.5 Violence Against Prostitutes

Another area of concern in the literature focuses on the incidence of violence against prostitutes. In general, the literature demonstrates a difference between the nature and extent of violence experienced by female and male prostitutes in Canada. While it is commonplace for women involved in prostitution to experience violence at the hands of customers and pimps, male prostitutes are most likely to experience violence "by homophobic onlookers who assault and/or rob them" (Lowman, 1992, quoted in Allman, 1999, also see Brannigan, 1996).

The Badgley Committee (1984) reported that approximately two-thirds of the youth interviewed for their "Juvenile Prostitution Survey" reported physical assaults in the course of selling sexual services (cf. F/P/T, 1998). Data produced by Statistics Canada reveal that 63 prostitutes were murdered in Canada from 1991 to 1995, of which 60 were female and 7 were less than 18 years of age (see, Duchesne, 1997; Wolff and Geissel, 1993; Lowman, 1997).

Miller and Schwartz (1995) interviewed 16 street prostitutes to examine the "experience and meaning" of violence against prostitutes. Respondents indicated high levels of rape and violence while involved in prostitution-related activities. The authors argue that

stereotypical rape myths "come together uniquely in the case of prostitutes to fuel both the violence and devaluation that allows society to ignore such treatment," and that violence against street prostitutes represents a continuum of violence against women in general.

Schissel and Fedec (1999) explored the "culture of violence" experienced by young prostitutes by analyzing youth probation files in Regina and Saskatoon. In addition to uncovering high levels of childhood physical and sexual abuse among youth prostitutes, the authors find several examples of indirect and direct victimization. As the authors note: "prostitution creates a context in which those youth who are involved will run a high risk of being damaged by a predator or by themselves – whether directly through assault and self-injury or indirectly through high-risk behaviour" (Schissel and Fedec, 1999: 51).

In 1993, a coalition of Vancouver service agencies commissioned a study to examine violence against street-involved women (Currie et al., 1995). Based on in-depth interviews with 85 street-involved women, the authors found that a majority of respondents experienced violence (sexual and physical abuse) at home and after they became involved in prostitution. Further, 98% of the women experienced violence as a result of a bad date (youth involved in prostitution were identified as being particularly vulnerable to victimization).

In response to concerns that the "communicating" law (s.213 of the *Criminal Code*) perpetuates violence against prostitutes, the Department of Justice Canada sponsored a series of regional studies to examine the incidence of violence, both before and after the introduction of this legislation (Bill C-49) (see, Lowman and Fraser 1996). Among the findings produced by the evaluations:

1) composite data from research in B.C. revealed 67 homicides of prostitutes since 1978 (60 since 1982). A newspaper analysis indicated that victims ranged from age 15 to 41, and that four youths involved in prostitution (under the age of 18) were murdered between 1974 and 1994. Lowman and Fraser (1996) concluded that, "preliminary analysis suggests that women known to have been involved in street prostitution are murdered at a rate somewhere in the region of sixty to one hundred and twenty times the rate at which non-prostitute women are murdered." The authors asserted an indirect link between the enforcement of the communicating law and violence against women involved in prostitution (Lowman and Fraser 1996).
2) Research in Halifax reported numerous acts of violence against prostitutes by pimps and customers. However, the police, crown, defense and social agencies reported that Bill C-49 has not created a more dangerous working milieu for street prostitutes (Fleischman, 1995).
3) Research in Calgary and Winnipeg reported 20 homicides of women involved in prostitution since 1985. The author suggested that an increase in violence against prostitutes corresponds with an increase of violence against women (Brannigan, 1995). Lowman (2000) profiles the murders of sex workers in British Columbia from 1964 to 1998. (His analysis begins with a review of various data sources from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, which reveal that 86 prostitutes have been murdered in Canada from 1992 through 1998.) Lowman argues the media accounts of the "get rid of prostitutes" activities that were initiated by politicians, police and residents during the 1980s contributed to a "sharp increase in the murders of prostitutes after 1980." In addition to profiling murders of prostitutes in B.C. (e.g., 32 murders from 1992 to 1998, the clearance rates for murders involving prostitutes is 34%, compared to a clearance rate for non-prostitutes that ranges from 77% to 85%), Lowman examines how campaigns to remove street prostitution from certain areas of Vancouver contributed to a "social milieu in which violence against prostitutes could flourish." During the mid-1980s, several politicians and community groups in Vancouver campaigned to have street prostitution removed from certain areas of the city, with no regard for where the trade would relocate. As a result, many prostitutes were forced to ply their trade in more dangerous and secluded areas of the city (a situation compounded by a system of quasi-criminalization within the *Criminal Code*). Lowman argues there are two forms of violence against prostitutes: situational (violence that occurs during the "course of

a transaction") and predatory (premeditated violence). However, this violence must be understood as part of a "continuum of violence against women more generally."[14]

3.5.1 Summary of Findings

- It is commonplace for women involved in prostitution to experience violence at the hands of customers and pimps.
- Male prostitutes are most likely to experience violence by "homophobic onlookers who assault and/or rob them" (Lowman, 1992).
- Statistics Canada data reveal that 63 prostitutes were murdered in Canada from 1991 to 1995, of which 60 were female and 7 were less than 18 years of age.

3.6 Research on Customers/Clients

Information on the (male) demand aspect of the sex trade remains a conspicuous gap in the social science literature. This paucity of research on clients/customers of prostitutes has been attributed to inadequate records providing information on the demand aspect of the trade (i.e., police have traditionally focused on the activities of prostitutes and their institutional records reflect this practice), and a general perception that "clients are unwilling to consent to interviews, and unlikely to respond to questionnaire surveys" (Lowman, Atchison and Fraser, 1996: 4).

The limited research on customers reveals that men who purchase sex from prostitutes are interested in a "brief uncomplicated sexual encounter" (Gemme et al., 1984, as quoted in Lowman, Atchison and Fraser, 1996; also, see McLeod, 1982) or they are searching for special sexual acts and they want to keep the "transactional nature of the interaction" secret (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996). Recent Canadian research conducted by Lowman, Atchison and Fraser (1996) indicate that the average age of clients sampled was 34 years, a majority were Canadian citizens and Caucasian, and most worked in blue collar occupations. Lowman's continued research on customers of prostitutes will help produce further information for understanding this often overlooked aspect of the sex trade.

Minichiello, Marino, Browne and Jamieson (1999) examined customers of male prostitutes by asking male sex workers their perceptions of the characteristics of clients. Male sex workers who advertised in newspapers, worked on the streets and in escort agencies in Sidney, Melbourne and Brisbane Australia were recruited for the study and were asked to complete a brief survey following a sexual encounter with a client. One hundred and eighty-six sex workers participated in the study, providing information on 2,088 encounters and profiles for 1,776 clients. The largest proportion of clients were in their 40s (31.7%), followed by those in their 30s (28.7%) and 16% who were in their 20s. Most clients were perceived as being "middle class." "Rich" clients tended to use services provided by an escort agency, while "poor" clients used the services of street workers. Most clients were identified as being gay (45%) or bisexual (31.3%). Drug and alcohol use by clients before the sexual encounter was uncommon. Customer violence was reported infrequently (occurring more frequently with street clients than with other types of clients). The authors suggest that the results will help formulate policy and education strategies. However, "what is urgently required is a broader understanding of the interaction between the client and the male sex worker."

3.6.1 Summary of Findings

- There is a lack of social science research on the (male) demand aspect of the trade.
- The limited research reveals that customers have varied characteristics, and a number of reasons why they purchase sex from prostitutes (e.g., the desire for a "brief uncomplicated sexual encounter," or a special sex act).

3.7 HIV-Related Issues

An on-going concern within the literature is the relationship between prostitution-related activities and HIV. Several international studies indicate high-risk HIV-related activities (i.e., unprotected sex, multiple sexual partners, intravenous drug use) among inner-city street youth, and they encourage education and

[14] Research suggests that off-street prostitution provides a much safer alternative to the high levels of violence experienced by street prostitutes (cf. Lowman, 2001). However, more research is needed to determine the varying levels of violence experienced by female prostitutes working in different venues.

prevention programs to reduce rates of infection (Inciardi, Pottieger, Forney, Chitwood and McBride, 1991; Pennbridge, Freese and MacKenzie, 1992; Pleak and Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990; Raffaelli et al., 1993; Sullivan, 1992).

Belk, Ostergaard and Groves (1998) examined the spread of AIDS through prostitution in Thailand. The authors interviewed 25 Chiang Mai University students, 6 foreign male tourists and several service providers. The findings suggest that beliefs and attitudes toward sexuality and prostitute patronage result in higher risk taking behaviour among males (men are traditionally expected to have more than one woman to satisfy their needs, whereas women are expected to remain pure until marriage). Despite increased knowledge about AIDS, sexual practices appear unaffected in Thailand - men continue to engage in unsafe sex. There has been an increased demand for child prostitutes because of the perception that they are not infected with the disease. The authors argue, "if 'illogical' risk-taking continues to occur among informed college students, it is even more likely to occur among the less informed majority of the Thai population."

In Canada, Jackson and Highcrest (1996, and Jackson, Highcrest and Coats, 1992) found that HIV infection among non-drug using prostitutes was "absent or low." The authors suggest it is important to provide prostitutes with HIV-related intervention and prevention programs that differentiate between the needs of street prostitutes and those working in off-street locales. Brock (1989) criticizes images that scapegoat prostitutes as being responsible for spreading HIV. The author argues that few prostitutes have been found HIV positive and that most prostitutes (except for young women and men who recently entered the sex trade) practice safe sex. Allman (1999) echoes a similar message through his review of the literature on AIDS and male prostitution (see previous section on male prostitution for more details). The author argues that, "viewed holistically, the evidence does much to refute the label of male sex workers as AIDS vectors" (1999: 72).

3.7.1 Summary of Findings

- Research refutes the "label of male sex workers as AIDS vectors.. Instead, it suggests that increasingly, male sex workers in Canada are protecting themselves, their clients and their sexual partners from STD and HIV infection and transmission" (Allman, 1999: 72).
- Several international studies indicate high-risk HIV-related activities (i.e., unprotected sex, multiple sexual partners, intravenous drug use) among inner-city street youth.

3.8 Exiting Prostitution

There is very little research on if, why, and how prostitutes choose to leave the sex trade. Boyer (1986) examined youth in the care of the Seattle Youth and Community Services (SYCS) to "identify factors and attributes precipitating a youth's decision to seed or sever links with services and continue or discontinue prostitution and 'street' behavior." SYCS provides services to help youth leave the sex trade and related "street" lifestyles. "The youth who successfully exited 'street' lifestyles compared to those who have not exited had experienced less child abuse prior to street involvement, had spent more time with parents or parental figures, and had become involved in street life at a later age."

Mansson and Hedin's (1999) research included interviews with 23 women between the age of 20 and 58 who had left the sex trade in Sweden.[13] The authors suggest the decision to enter prostitution is influenced by a difficult childhood (e.g., physical, sexual and emotional abuse), accompanied by low self-esteem. "Many of the women were labeled as 'whores' early, often long before their actual entry into prostitution. Given such a perspective, the woman's debut into prostitution is often rather undramatic, even if the context in which it takes place can be quite chaotic" (1999: 71). Some women in the study exited prostitution following an important event or "turning point" (e.g., an eye opening experience, a traumatic or positive life experience). For others, the breakaway developed over time, often in a way that was "unconscious" to the individual. Almost all of the respondents described the "period after their break with prostitution as a very difficult time" (e.g., difficulty understanding their life in prostitution, living in marginal situations, problems with intimate and close relationships). The authors suggest an individual's commitment to change plays an

[13] Although this research includes adult subjects, it is still helpful in understanding the process of leaving prostitution (e.g., it might shed light on potential strategies for helping young women and men who want to leave the sex trade).

important role in the process of exiting, a process encouraged by a variety of interpsychological and interpersonal factors. "However, at the end of the day, it is important not to end up in too individualistic explanations. A person's creative and innovative capacities definitely depend on reliable social relations and institutions in her environment" (1999: 76).

In Canada, Sue McIntyre is currently analyzing the results from her research on the process of exiting prostitution. In 1991, McIntyre interviewed 50 youth involved in prostitution in Calgary, Alberta. The results of this research provided important information on the background characteristics and street experiences of youth involved in prostitution. Following this research, McIntyre identified two significant gaps in the prostitution literature: 1) No data or written material of a retrospective nature on youth involved in prostitution. 2) A paucity of research on the process of leaving prostitution. As a result, in 1999, McIntyre developed a research project to examine the process of exiting prostitution by interviewing and accounting for as many of the original 50 subjects from her 1991 research as possible. The author conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with 38 youth with a history in the sex trade (28 from the original sample and 10 additional subjects).

3.8.1 Summary of Findings

- There is very little research on if, why and how prostitutes choose to leave the sex trade.
- The available information suggests that women leave the sex trade under a variety of conditions (e.g., after a traumatic or positive event or following a lengthy decision-making process) and the period after exiting prostitution is a difficult time (e.g., difficulty making sense of a life in prostitution, living in marginal situations, problems with intimate relationships).

3.9 Aboriginal Youth Involved in Prostitution

Despite widespread acknowledgement of the over-representation of Aboriginal youth in prostitution (see, for example, Fraser, 1985; Lowman, 1987; Webber, 1991; F/P/T Working Group on Prostitution, 1998; Committee for Sexually Exploited Youth in the CRD, 1997; Schissell and Fedec, 1999), there is very little research that specifically focuses on this issue.

Save the Children Canada (2000) recently released their findings from consultations with 150 commercially sexually exploited Aboriginal children and youth across Canada. The purpose of the report is to better understand Aboriginal youth involvement in prostitution and to allow youth to "express their ideas and concerns regarding the issue of abuse, exploitation, prevention, healing, exiting, crisis intervention, harm reduction, public attitudes and youth participation." In discussing the over-representation of Aboriginal youth in prostitution, the authors note "the negative impact of European colonialism on Native peoples and their cultures has been a decisive factor in creating and maintaining barriers of social, economic and political inequality" (2000: 8). The report reveals that all of the Aboriginal youth who participated in the consultation process "spoke of the physical, sexual and/or emotional abuse they experienced in their home lives, as parents, relatives, care givers, and neighbours continued to suffer from the legacy of cultural fragmentation" (2000: 13). The report also outlines how prostitution became a choice for many Aboriginal youth who had left troubled home and community situations and ended up on the streets with few educational and job skills/opportunities.

3.9.1 Summary of Findings

- There is a paucity of research that specifically examines the issues related to Aboriginal youth involvement in prostitution (despite the fact this population is over-represented in the youth prostitution population).
- Prostitution was a choice for many Aboriginal youth who had left troubled home and community situations and ended up on the streets with few educational and job skills/opportunities.

3.10 Trafficking Women for the Purpose of Prostitution

A burgeoning area of concern in the prostitution literature surrounds the international trafficking of young women for the purpose of prostitution. Jiwani and Brown (1999) examine the sexual exploitation of young women and girls within an international context. The authors noted that the "Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW) defines trafficking as":

> All acts and attempted acts involved in the recruitment, transportation within or across

> borders, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or harbouring of a person involving the use of deception, coercion (including the use of threat or force or the abuse of authority) or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding such person, whether for pay or not, in involuntary servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive) in forced or bonded labour, or in slavery-like conditions, in a community other than the one in which such persons lived at the time of the original deception, coercion or debt bondage (GAATW, 1999: 1, as quoted in Jiwani and Brown, 1999: 1-2).

Jiwani and Brown (1999) outlined several factors that contribute to the vulnerability of women and girls to sexual exploitation and abuse, including poverty, violence, and the devaluation of women and girls. The Canadian literature highlights three categories of trafficking: trafficking within the "national and international sex trade"; migrant workers who are sexually exploited; and the "the importation of girls and women as mail order brides" (1999: 9). Many youth who are sexually exploited and trafficked are runaways or "throwaways who turn to street prostitution as a way of survival."

McDonald, Moore and Timoshinka (2000) conducted interviews with 20 sex trade workers, 15 service providers and 15 key informants (e.g., police, massage parlour owners, and immigration officials) to examine the trafficking of women from Central and Eastern Europe to Canada. Trafficking in women is defined as "all acts involved in the recruitment and transportation of a woman within and across national borders for work or services by means of violence, or threat of violence, abuse of authority or dominate position, debt bondage, deception or other forms of coercion" (2000: 8). The sex trade workers who were consulted for the study design objected to the term "trafficking"; they argued it was inappropriate as not all sex trade workers were "... helpless victims who did not choose their work or to migrate to Canada" (2000: 10). The authors reveal that political and economic changes in the former Soviet Union and the transition to a market economy in Central and Eastern Europe have contributed to a "feminization of poverty," making some women vulnerable to exploitation through trafficking. "Conditions of recruitment, migration and employment were, in many cases, deplorable and characterized by exploitation, control and illegal activity" (2000: vi).

Overall, the literature on the trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution is still developing and therefore cannot provide a good understanding of this phenomenon as it relates to the Canadian context. More research is therefore needed to develop clearer picture of the nature and extent of the international trafficking of women for prostitution.

3.10.1 Summary of Findings

- Factors that contribute to the vulnerability of women and girls to sexual exploitation and abuse include poverty, violence, and the devaluation of women.
- Sex trade workers appear to object to the term "trafficking" indicating that not all sex trade workers were "... helpless victims who did not choose their work or to migrate to Canada."
- Political and economic changes may contribute to a "feminization of poverty," making some women vulnerable to exploitation through trafficking.
- Overall, this body of literature is developing. It is too soon to provide a good understanding of this phenomenon as it relates to the Canadian context. More research is therefore needed.

3.11 Miscellaneous International Issues

International research highlights a variety of youth prostitution-related issues. There are studies that examine the antecedents of youth involvement in prostitution in various countries and cultures (for example, see Adedoyin and Adegoke, 1995; Damgaard, 1995; Hwang, 1995; Udegbe and Fajimolu, 1992). Other studies explore the conditions youth prostitutes face in large inner-city/urban settings. Firme, Grinder and Barreto (1991) describe how adolescent involvement in prostitution in Brazil is associated with a depressed economic situation. Inciardi (1989) examined the phenomenon of trading sex for "crack" cocaine in U.S. cities. Pawar (1991) notes how legislation introduced to prevent the sexual exploitation of children and females in India has failed to stop the proliferation of the sex trade.

Child sex tourism represents a growing issue of concern within the international literature. For instance, David (2000) reviews the *Australian Crimes (Child Sex Tourism) Amendments Act 1994*, including an examination of several cases that have been prosecuted under this legislation. (Child sex tourism is defined as seeking sexual services of children in developing countries.) The *Act* makes it an offence to engage or participate in sexual intercourse/conduct with a child under the age of 18 while traveling outside of Australia or induce a child to engage in sexual intercourse "with a third person outside of Australia". The author also outlines several barriers to prosecution (e.g., problems securing overseas evidence, difficulties dealing with child witnesses, and the number of unreported cases). (See, also Opperman, 1999 for a review of the sex tourism literature.)

4.0 Summary and Conclusions

In Canada, youth involvement in prostitution has evoked considerable concern and debate about the meaning of the youth sex trade and the best way to bring about its demise. For instance, during the early 1900s, reformers perceived that an international "white slavery trade" had developed and that young women and children were susceptible to being duped into a life of prostitution. In response, women's groups, social purists and religious organizations lobbied the federal government to enact laws to confront prostitution and criminalize the international trade of young women (see McLaren, 1986). More recently, the Badgley Committee (1984), the Fraser (1985) Committee and the F/P/T Working Group on Prostitution (1998) offered numerous findings and conclusions with respect to the youth sex trade. Further, all levels of government (federal, provincial, municipal) have launched numerous youth prostitution related reports, committees, task forces and programs and initiatives. At the same time, the social science literature examines a variety of issues and debates surrounding youth involvement in prostitution. This literature review revealed many of the key issues surrounding the impact of youth involvement in prostitution, and it raised important questions about how we understand and respond to the youth sex trade.

Three prominent themes emerged from the literature:

1) There has been a shift in philosophy from treating youth involved in prostitution as criminals to identifying them as victims in need of protection.
2) There is considerable debate in the social science literature about the factors contributing to a youth's decision to prostitute.
3) Based on this literature review, there appears to be considerable disjuncture between recent policies and programs to address the youth sex trade (e.g., secure care) and key findings reported in the research literature. A number of researchers have identified a gap between the lived realities of youth involved in prostitution and what is reflected in the literature and government policies.

4.1 Legislative History and Development

The legislative history and development literature revealed that, since the late 1800s female prostitutes have been subjected to discriminatory legislation and unequal law enforcement, regardless of age. In contrast to female prostitutes, men associated with the demand aspect of the sex trade and men who sexually procure youth have enjoyed relative immunity from the law.

Despite a history of discriminatory prostitution-related legislation and law enforcement, there have been signs of change. Starting in the 1990s, discussions and efforts to suppress youth prostitution shifted attention towards men who sexually procure youths. Youth involved in prostitution were not charged with s.213 (the communicating law) offences as frequently as in the past. At the same time, service providers and community members in several Canadian jurisdictions questioned the virtual immunity from the law enjoyed by men who purchased the sexual services of youth, and they lobbied for the protection of youth involved in the sex trade.

Since the mid-1990s there has been a growing consensus that youth involved in prostitution are victims of sexual exploitation and/or abuse, and distinct from being treated as offenders. In many Canadian jurisdictions there are new initiatives aimed at protecting sexually exploited youth involved in prostitution, and in some instances there are attempts to amend provincial child welfare legislation so as to (re)define youth prostitution as child abuse. Secure care legislation in Alberta (and similarly proposed legislation in other jurisdictions) represents the most recent initiative aimed at "protecting" youth involved in the sex trade.

However, despite claims about the need to protect youth from the men who sexually procure them, it is youth who continue to be detained and punished under the guise of protection. Several researchers question the utility of the victimization framework, citing problems with denying a youth's agency and decontextualizing the decision to prostitute. Pheterson (1996) warns that protectionist discourses are euphemisms for control: "that control is clothed in language of 'protection,' 'prevention,' 'rehabilitation' and 're-insertion' of 'victims' but the message is consistently a prohibition of self-determination." Brock (1998: 133) suggests the focus on victimization detracts from discussions about

the conditions that make prostitution a choice for some young women and men (e.g., poor paying jobs for youth, a lack of educational opportunities).

4.2 The Social Science Literature

There is some debate in the social science literature with respect to the association between childhood physical and sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution. Beginning with the Badgley Report (1984) there have been several questions raised about the nature and the prevalence of the antecedents of youth involvement in the sex trade. For some researchers there is evidence that prostitutes experienced more intrafamilial physical and sexual abuse while growing up than non-prostitutes. Other researchers question the link between childhood abuse and prostitution.

Despite disagreement, it is possible to identify a general process of entry into prostitution:

1) Many young prostitutes ran away, or were "thrown away" at an early age from home environments they described as intolerable, including frequent cases of physical, sexual and emotional abuse.
2) Many males involved in prostitution ran away to escape discrimination based on their sexual orientation. In this respect, intrafamilial family violence and dysfunction provides the impetus (or the "push") for some youth to leave home (cf. Lowman, 1987).
3) Following the decision to run away, many prostitutes were "pulled" to the street life by a desire for autonomy and the need for money.
4) Once on the streets the situational poverty of street involved youth (i.e., below average education, marginal employment skills, youth unemployment, and inadequate services for street involved youth) and a steady (male) demand for sexual services make prostitution a viable alternative for some youth.
5) Not every youth involved in prostitution experienced physical and sexual abuse while growing up (and, conversely, not every sexually abused youth becomes involved in prostitution). However, the evidence suggests a strong link between childhood physical and sexual abuse, running away from home, situational poverty and subsequent involvement in prostitution.

Discussions of antecedents to youth involvement in prostitution cannot be understood and discussed outside the broader structural factors that help to generate the youth sex trade, i.e., male sexual socialization, youth oppression, youth employment structures, and gender, race and class issues. As Brock (1998: 141) argues, "the sex trade will continue to be a viable option for women, particularly working class women, as long as they are faced with unequal pay and poor job prospects, unfavourable educational streaming, a high cost of living, inadequate services such as child care, and the lack of reproductive freedom to determine when and how many children they will have." Similarly, Lowman suggests that youth prostitution "arises from a gendered-based power structure" that fuels the male demand for sexual services and contributes to the situational poverty of youth involved in prostitution (Lowman, 1992). "Ultimately, the solution to juvenile prostitution will require a transformation of male sexual socialization within a diverse system of family forms, and a solution to the marginality of juveniles, particularly females, in the labour force" (Lowman, 1987: 111). In this respect, prostitution must be transformed from its current form by challenging the social conditions that make prostitution a favorable choice for some young people (Brock, 1998; Sullivan, 1992).

4.3 Levels of Disjuncture

A broad overview of the literature reveals a disjuncture between (legal and extra-legal) responses to address the youth sex trade and findings and discussions found within the research literature, between the lived realities of youth involved in prostitution and what is stated in much of the literature and the approaches adopted through recent policy initiatives.

Comparing the history of prostitution-related legislation and law enforcement (Chapter 1.0) with the findings and debates within the social science literature (Chapter 2.0) suggests that research findings have had little bearing on many of the policy directions adopted to address the youth sex trade. For instance, the literature did not recommend secure care as a viable policy option to protect young prostitutes or reduce the youth sex trade – except two government committees that were mandated to examine a secure care option. Interestingly, the literature challenges the victimization discourse that underpins recent secure care strategies (for example, see

Pheterson, 1996; Brock, 1998; O'Neill, 2001). Other examples of disjuncture include a gap between the findings of the Fraser Committee and the introduction of the "communicating law" and the research on violence against prostitutes and the policies and initiatives aimed at removing prostitution from certain locales.

Perhaps of most concern is the disjuncture involving the lack of youth-centred research and policies that give voice to those involved in the youth sex trade. Although there is a growing body of literature that gives youth a voice (for example, see O'Neill, 2001; Biesenthal, 1993; McIntyre, 1999), these pale in comparison to the amount of research that examines the characteristics of (research "about") young prostitutes. In addition, there is a growing body of government reports that include "consultations" with young prostitutes as part of their mandate (e.g., British Columbia, 2000; Secure Care Working Group, 1998; Task Force on Children Involved in Prostitution, 1997). However, most of these documents do not give a strong voice to youth that would allow them to truly express their needs and share ideas as to how to address the youth sex trade. As a result of this disjuncture, there are inadequate avenues for youth to inform the research and policy initiatives that impact upon their lived realities.

4.4 Recommendations for Future Research[15]

Knowledge gaps that emerged from the literature review provide several ideas for future research:

- Research should evaluate legislative amendments and law enforcement practices aimed at men who sexually procure youth and men who purchase the sexual services of a youth, i.e., how does the enforcement (or lack thereof) of these laws impact upon youth involvement in prostitution. In particular, research should be undertaken to examine the enforcement difficulties associated with s.212(4) of the *Criminal Code*.
- The literature points to a growing concern with the actions of men who purchase the sexual services of a youth. However, little research has focused on understanding the (male) demand aspect of the youth sex trade; more research is needed to understand why men purchase sex from youth, and the effectiveness of current policies used to confront male customers.
- The need to evaluate the effectiveness of initiatives such as secure care and other recent programs for addressing the youth sex trade.
- There is a paucity of research concerning the unique circumstances surrounding Aboriginal youth involvement in prostitution. Encouraging more research in this area is necessary to help address the over-representation of Aboriginal youth in prostitution.
- More research is needed to understand the nature and extent of the international trafficking of young women for the purpose of prostitution.
- Although we know a considerable amount about the factors leading to the decision to prostitute, there is a paucity of research on the process of exiting the sex trade.
- There is little research that incorporates the perspectives of youth involved in prostitution. Future research should ask young prostitutes what role, if any, the law and social services should play in addressing the youth sex trade, and whether youths believe they need "protection," and if so, what measures should be adopted.
- Finally, research concerning youth involvement in prostitution should use an integrated approach that examines the broader social and political context (i.e., male sexual socialization, youth oppression and employment structures) that gives rise to the youth sex trade. Research that considers the broader social context is necessary for developing strategies that address existing power relations that make prostitution a viable option for some youth.

[15] In addition to relying on the literature reviewed for this report, the recommendations from this section come from research priorities that John Lowman and Sue McIntyre identified for the recent unpublished report contracted by the Department of Justice Canada.

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Appendix A: Annotated Bibliography [17]

Adedoyin, M. & Adegoke, A. (1995). Teenage prostitution - child abuse: A survey of the Ilorin situation. *African Journal of Medicine and Medical Sciences, 24*, 27-31.

Changes in traditional attitudes towards sexuality and sexual expression in African society has resulted in greater sexual activity among youth and an increase in the average age of entry into marriage. An increase in adolescent prostitution has accompanied this transformation in sexual mores. This study examines the nature of teenage prostitution in Nigeria by discussing the prevalence, factors, trends and characteristics associated with youth prostitution. The authors administered a semi-structured questionnaire to 150 teenage prostitutes. The results suggest a relationship between childhood sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution. One-half (50%) of the respondents indicated their first sexual experience occurred early in life, and many still lived with their parents when they became involved in prostitution. The article also discusses research implications and suggestions for future studies.

Aggleton, P. (Ed.). (1999). *Men who sell sex: International perspectives on male prostitution and AIDS*. London: University College London Press Limited.

The purpose of this edited collection is to explore the "complexities involved in talking about male sex work." In addition to bringing together accounts of the male sex trade from around the world, the various authors attempt to understand and explain the male sex trade from a range of frameworks, including sociological, psychological, historical, economic, political, legal, and linguistic. The editor challenges readers to think of sex work "not as a fixed state or identity, but rather as a continuum ranging from organized prostitution, through brothels, escort agencies, and so on, through to unmediated transactions resulting from chance encounters of the sort described in a number of the chapters." Issues discussed throughout the articles include sexual and gender identity (e.g., sex work as a way of coming to terms with being homosexual) and AIDS and male sex work. The articles analyze sex work on several levels, "respecting both the extent to which the worker is often a more autonomous agent than his/her 'victim' status suggests, while not losing sight of the moral indignation with which Khan [one of the authors] reminds us that 'for the vast majority of people sex work... is a survival strategy. For most it is a practice enforced by poverty, degradation, homelessness, hunger and powerlessness, a form of slavery to economic, social and cultural deprivation, stigmatization and marginalization....'"

Alberta Government Press Release. (November 2001). *Government to Amend Law Protecting Children Involved in Prostitution.*

On November 21, 2000, the Alberta Government tabled amendments to the *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act* in the Alberta legislature. The amendments were introduced to "ensure that children's rights are protected and to enable them to receive additional care and support." The amendments will extend the confinement period from 72 hours to five days. "Also, a Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution director can apply for a maximum of two additional confinement periods of up to 21 days each. This additional time will enable social workers to stabilize the child, help break the cycle of abuse and begin the recovery process in a safe and secure environment."

Alberta Government Press Release. (May 2000). *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act.*

The Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act "recognizes that children involved in prostitution are victims of sexual abuse." The *Act* protects children by: recognizing the victimization of youth involved in prostitution; providing

[17] Annotations appearing with an * were provided by the British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General.

community support for youth wanting to leave prostitution; providing protection services for "children who do not wish to end their involvement" in prostitution; and, "enabling police and child welfare workers to apprehend children involved in prostitution." Children can be detained in protective confinement for 72 hours for assessment. In addition, police can arrest "pimps and johns who pick up children for sexual favours."

Allen, D. (1980). Young male prostitutes: A psychological study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 9*, 339-426.

The background of male hustlers includes a difficult home environment, "deprived socio-economic status," and poor educational and job-related skills. This 3-year study on males who exchange sex for money with other males involves semi-structured open-ended interviews with 129 male sex trade workers in Boston (data from 98 of the interviews included in this paper). Questions focus on the psychosocial background of the participants, including discussions about their origin, social and family history, education, sexuality, alcohol and substance use, and delinquency. The author categorises male prostitutes into four groups: 1) full-time street and bar hustlers, 2) full-time callboys or kept boys, 3) part-time hustlers, 4) those involved in prostitution as an "extension of other delinquent acts." The four groups are compared on their psychological history, motives, and type of operation. The data suggests that part-time male prostitutes, who remain in educational or vocational programs, are the only category of male prostitutes who express the ability to achieve a "stable social adjustment." The author asserts that there is no "typical" young male prostitute; respondents had various backgrounds and motives for becoming involved (and staying involved) in prostitution.

Allman, D. (1999). *M is for mutual A is for Acts: Male sex work and AIDS in Canada*. Ottawa: Health Canada.

The purpose of this report is to review the literature of "male sex work in Canada, with particular emphasis on HIV and AIDS." The author's goal is to provide a better understanding of the realities of sex work and to "... inform the very pressing legal, ethical and policy debates on the role and rights of sex workers in Canadian society." Estimates of the number of males involved in prostitution vary between jurisdictions (e.g., one estimate suggests that 10% to 33% of prostitutes in a number of large Canadian cities were men). Areas of the literature surveyed in this report include male sex work and the *Criminal Code*, demographic information on male sex work, male sex work and STDs, HIV and AIDS, previous research on street youth and young male sex work, indoor male sex work, clients of male sex workers, Aboriginal male sex work, the media and male sex work and Canadian social theory applied to sex work. Among the findings, research suggests that a majority of males entered prostitution before 18 years of age; money is the 'primary' reason why young men enter prostitution; male sex workers experience violence from "homophobic onlookers who assault and/or rob them;" there is little information on indoor male sex work and Aboriginal male involvement in the sex trade. According to the author, although there is variation in the research on condom use, the available evidence refutes "... the label of male sex workers as AIDS vectors." "Instead, it suggests that increasingly, male sex workers in Canada are protecting themselves, their clients and their sexual partners from STD and HIV infection and transmission." The report also includes a series of recommendations about the importance of methodologically sound and "morally unbiased research on sex work."

Appleford, B. (1986). Response of the Canadian Psychological Association to the Badgley and Fraser reports. In J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys, & S. Gavigan (Eds.), *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports* (pp. 51-73). Burnaby, British Columbia: Simon Fraser University.

This paper reviews the response of the Canadian Psychological Association (CPA) to the Badgley and Fraser Reports. Among other things, the CPA suggests the establishment of a national body to co-ordinate responses (professional services and prevention and education) to the Badgley Report. The CPA agrees with both Committees that much more need to be done to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth. However, the Badgley Committee's recommendation to criminalize young prostitutes represents "excessive zeal," and only serves to re-victimize youth involved in the sex trade. Overall, the CPA urges the federal government to co-ordinate legal and extra-legal initiatives (both in the public and private sectors) in response to the Badgley and Fraser Reports.

*** Atchison, C., Fraser, L., & Lowman, J. (1998). Men who buy sex: Preliminary findings of an exploratory study. In J.E. Elias, V. L. Bullough, V. Elias, & G. Brewer, *Prostitution: On whores, hustlers and johns* (pp. 172-203). New York: Promethus Books.**

The authors of this chapter review their research on clients of commercial sex trade workers. The report includes a discussion of methodological strategies used to research clients and the "conceptual framework" used to analyse the results. The article includes discussions of "gender differences from a feminist perspective" (e.g., why men purchase sexual services and the reasons men purchase sexual services from youth). The researchers note a difference between men who purchase sex and those who do not, noting, "clients report having earlier sexual experiences and are more likely to report having been sexually abused as a child."

Backhouse, C. B. (1985). Nineteenth-century Canadian prostitution law: Reflection of a discriminatory society. *Social History, 18*, 387-423.

This article reveals that nineteenth century views of prostitution were characterized by three legal approaches: regulation, prohibition and rehabilitation. Regulatory approaches included the introduction of the *Contagious Diseases Act* to curb venereal disease in prostitutes. Policy makers tried to prohibit the sex trade by enacting stringent legislation criminalizing prostitution-related activities, including laws pertaining to male frequenters of bawdyhouses. Further, attempts were made to rehabilitate fallen women by introducing "asylums, women's prisons and juvenile detention centers." Regardless of the approach, females involved in prostitution (both young and old) were subjected to discriminatory legislation and/or law enforcement practices. Each response discriminated against prostitutes on the "basis of class, race, ethnic origin and sex."

Backhouse, C. B. (1991). Prostitution. In C. B. Backhouse, *Petticoats and prejudice: Women and law in nineteenth century Canada*. Toronto: Women's Press.

Was Nineteenth Century prostitution an expression of a sexually coercive culture, or was it the independent action of women who "flouted marriage, the patriarchal family, and restrictive sexual mores?" The author approaches this debate by contrasting two stories of women involved in prostitution. The first illustrates how one woman, Mary Gorman, and her daughter became involved in prostitution as a means of subsistence, and how they were constantly exposed to public scrutiny, police harassment and "downward social mobility." The second outlines the experiences of Esther Forsyth Arscott, the owner of a prominent brothel that was considered a landmark among the working class. The author notes how legislators ignored many of the economic and social factors that made prostitution an option for some women. Overall, the author asserts that women involved in prostitution were the primary focus of male legislators and law enforcement officials who attempted to regulate sexuality during the Nineteenth Century.

Bagley, C. (1985). Child sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution: A commentary on the Badgley report on sexual offences against children and youth. *Canadian Journal of Public Health, 76*, 65-66.

This article criticizes the Badgley Report on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth for suggesting that young prostitutes do not experience more sexual offences when growing up than other Canadian children and youth. The author challenges Badgley's methods and findings: the Committee's comparison sample was incommensurate; they downplayed the seriousness of the abuse experienced by young prostitutes; and, they failed to explain that most prostitutes experienced sexual abuse at a much younger age (before age of 12) than non-prostitutes. Based on the evidence, Bagley concludes that prior to entering the street life, young prostitutes experienced twice as much abuse than the general population.

Bagley, C. (1986). Prevention of child sexual abuse and its sequels: An Alberta case study and a commentary on the Badgley and Fraser reports. *The Social Worker/Le Travailleur Social, 45*(1), 16-19.

The author reviews the findings of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Report) and the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report). The Badgley Report highlights the extent of child sexual abuse in Canada and the poor state of social services available to deal with the phenomenon. The Badgley Committee recommends the creation of the Officer of the Commissioner to develop "standards of services" for dealing with child sexual abuse cases, and the provincial governments should implement

appropriate child protection services. The available evidence suggests: a) most sexually abused youth in Alberta "do not come to the notice of an adult;" b) most sexual abuse victims are not referred to specialists for treatment; c) most child welfare cases in Alberta involve victims of sexual abuse. Surveys in Calgary and Edmonton indicate that 65% of juvenile prostitutes experienced sexual abuse before running away to the streets. The author concludes that some local areas (i.e., Saskatoon, Halifax, Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg) have initiated programs to deal with child sexual abuse; however, most governments have failed to "support and stimulate" initiatives advocated by the Badgley Committee.

Bagley, C. (1991). The long-term psychological effects of child sexual abuse: A review of some British and Canadian studies of victims and their families. *Annals of Sex Research, 4*, 23-48.

In this document, the author reviews the Canadian and UK literature on the long-term mental health impact of child sexual abuse in the family setting. Data from nine Canadian studies note a high incidence of child sexual abuse in dysfunctional families. The negative repercussions of intrafamilial sexual abuse include poor self-esteem, increased depression, suicidal thoughts and tendencies, and poor mental health. A study of youth prostitution in Canada and the Philippines reveals significant cultural variations in ascertaining amounts of child sexual abuse.

Bagley, C. (1997). Child sex rings: Marginal, deprived and exploited children. In *Children, sex and social Policy: Humanistic solutions for problems of child sexual abuse*. Brookfield, US: Avebury.

Two chapters focus on youth involvement in prostitution: chapter 4 Child Sex Rings: Marginal, Deprived and Exploited Children, and chapter 6: Child and Adolescent Prostitution in North America and the Third World: Case Studies of Cruelty and Cultural Misunderstandings. Chapter 4 explores the problem of child sex rings. The author argues that child sex rings represent the "exploitation of the naiveté and trust of young people." Interviews with former prostitutes and a former organizer/leader of a sex ring, and results from previous studies are used to describe the dynamics involved with this aspect of the sex trade. Most children involved in sex rings come from broken and disadvantaged homes, where sexual and physical abuse was common. In chapter 6, the author provides information on youth prostitution from three sources: findings from formal studies conducted in North America; personal observations in Calgary, Bombay, Manila and Hong Kong; and personal accounts from former prostitutes. The author differentiates between child and adolescent prostitution: "adolescent prostitutes (girls aged 13 and over) are sought because of their nubility and their newly acquired secondary sexual characteristics; the adolescent women involved usually emphasize their obvious sexuality." Factors leading to involvement in prostitution (e.g., physical, emotional and sexual abuse in the home, low self-esteem and depression) are outlined and examined. In addition to criticizing the lack of charges against customers of young prostitutes, the author argues that more funding is needed for introducing "effective, skilled and lengthy interventions" that offer psychological and social supports. The author concludes that the crux of the problem is that "keeping taxes down is more important for politicians and the public than intervening to adequately protect children and adolescents from the most vile form of sexual and physical cruelty."

Bagley, C., Burrows, B.A., & Yaworski, C. (1991). Street kids and adolescent prostitution: A challenge for legal and social services. In N. Bala, J. P. Hornick & R. Vogel (Eds.), *Canadian Child Welfare Law: Children, Families and the State*. (pp. 109-132). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.

This article reviews the literature concerning factors influencing entry into prostitution (child abuse, home environment and runaway behaviour). The authors discuss the legal and social service strategies recommended by the Badgley and Fraser Committees is discussed, and critique the federal government's response to these Committees. The authors argue that attempting to return youths to a home-life they describe as intolerable is futile; service agencies must understand and help youth deal with the factors contributing to their decision to prostitute. Responses to juvenile prostitution must consider a youth's desire for independence, and they should provide appropriate living conditions and educational and counseling programs. Eliminating or reducing the incidence of juvenile prostitution will depend on the development of public policy and attitudes that emphasize helping young prostitutes.

Bagley, C. & Young, L. (1987). Juvenile prostitution and child sexual abuse: A controlled study. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 6*(1), 5-26.

Bagley and Young attempt to replicate Silbert and Pines (1982) research on the association between childhood sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution. The authors highlight methodological pitfalls behind the Badgley Committee's statement that young prostitutes do not experience more sexual offences when growing up than other Canadian children and youth. The authors interview 45 former prostitutes (all over the age of 18), and they use a comparison group of non-prostitutes taken from a mental health study of "randomly selected" adults. A second comparison group included 40 women from the mental health study who indicated sexual abuse in childhood. The findings indicate that, in comparison to the control group, former prostitutes were more likely to have experienced a home life that included family-related alcohol issues, and physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Former prostitutes were more likely to have attempted suicide and exhibit poor mental health and devastated self-esteem.

Bala, N., Harvey, W., & McCormack, H. (1992). *The prosecution of sexual offences against children and Bill C-15: A case law research project*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.

In response to the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report, 1984), the federal government introduced Bill C-15, *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code and the Canada Evidence Act* to confront the issue of child sexual abuse. The report overviews the judicial decisions of cases related to the provisions enacted by Bill C-15. Other relevant child sexual abuse cases are also discussed. There is no judicial response on cases involving section 212(2) (prohibiting living on the avails of someone under the age of 18) or section 212(4) (criminalizing purchasing, or attempting to purchase, the sexual services of someone under the age of 18). However, the authors note judicial support for measures to protect youth involved in prostitution.

Barrett, D. (1998). Young people and prostitution: Perpetrators in our midst. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 12(3), 475-486.

This article examines youth prostitution in Britain and reports findings from an ethnographic study of youth prostitution in an unidentified city. A conceptual shift characterizes the British approach, whereby youth involved in prostitution have become identified as victims, not offenders (although the author notes that many youth continue to experience conflict with the law). The author favors networking, along with a multi-disciplinary approach to help these youth manage the problems that propel them to life on the streets. Running away is a significant element in youth entering prostitution, and factors such as troubled backgrounds, physical and sexual abuse, and poverty often contribute to the decision to flee the home. Services such as drop-in centres, advice lines and mobile services should be in place to provide support and assist youth to cope with everyday challenges. Homeless youth demonstrate difficulty in obtaining housing, securing employment and obtaining an education, and therefore can easily fall prey to pimps and begin to sell sex to survive. The study, which examined 411 youth working in a secluded area away from the main red light district, revealed the following: youths typically remained in the clients' vehicle during the sexual encounter, suggesting that perhaps no pimps were involved; and, there was high inter-personal contact between the young girls (possibly for personal security or to keep pimps away). The author encourages new ideas and solutions to "solve the problem of young people being involved in prostitution."

Barret, D., & Beckett, W. (1996). Child prostitution: Reaching out to children who sell sex to survive. *British Journal of Nursing, 5*, 1120-1125.

A majority of health-care workers gain knowledge of childhood prostitution through the media. To provide appropriate intervention strategies, local health and social care practitioners need to be educated on the factors influencing a youth's decision to prostitute, including issues of child abuse, poverty, and family relationships. This article examines the economic and political issues associated with youth prostitution, and it reviews some initiatives launched by health and social care workers.

Bartek, S., Krebs, D., & Taylor, M. (1993). Coping, defending, and the relations between moral judgement and moral behaviour in prostitutes and other female juvenile delinquents. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 102*, 66-73.

Previous studies examining the relationship between immoral behaviour and obtaining low scores on the Moral Judgement Interview are flawed on both "descriptive and explanatory levels." This study compares the moral competence of female delinquents (prostitutes and delinquent non-prostitutes) with female non-delinquents of the same age. The authors hypothesize the delinquent group would score lower on a series of moral judgement indicators. The study includes 20 juvenile delinquents involved in prostitution, 20 juvenile delinquents who denied involvement in prostitution, and 20 control subjects from the same age group. Structured interviews included Colby and Kohlberg's (1987) study on moral dilemma about prostitution (Moral Judgement Interview, MJI) and Joffe and Naditch's (1977) coping and defending test. In comparison to the control group, delinquents illustrated lower maturity and coping, and higher defensiveness scores. Delinquents characterized as "low-coping" made "significantly lower level moral judgements on the prostitution dilemma than on the less personally relevant MJI dilemmas." No between-group differences were found with respect to respondents judgements on the MJI, however prostitutes made "weaker judgements against prostitution." The results highlight the relationship between moral reasoning and moral acts.

Basow, S., & Campanile, F. (1990). Attitudes toward prostitution as a function of attitudes toward feminism in college students: An exploratory study. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 14*(1), 135-141.

A historical review of feminist thought concerning prostitution reveals two competing alternatives to prohibition: decriminalization and legalization. The authors report findings from a study that explored the relationship between feminist attitudes and views on prostitution. Eighty-nine undergraduates (42 male and 47 female) responded to the "Attitudes Toward Feminism Scale" and an "Attitudes Toward Prostitution Scale." The authors hypothesized that "college students who were profeminist would be less acceptant of prostitution myths and more open to decriminalization and legalization of prostitution than would college students who were more traditional in their attitudes toward feminism." Profeminists were more likely to view prostitution as "exploitation and subordination of women, less likely to believe that women become prostitutes out of economic necessity, and less likely to approve of decriminalization and legalization of prostitution." Gender differences were also detected (women were more likely than men were to support legalization and decriminalization). Women were more likely than men to view prostitution as a form of subordination and exploitation of women. Based on the results, the authors suggest that the pubic will view liberalizing prostitution as sexual permissiveness. They recommend that the public be educated about decriminalization and legalization, and the "real" nature of prostitution and "the social structures that maintain it."

Belk, R. W., Ostergaard, P., & Groves, R. (1998). Sexual consumption in the time of AIDS: A study of prostitute patronage in Thailand. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing, 17*(2), 197-210.

The authors summarize a study "of sexual consumption and AIDS in the context of prostitution in Thailand." Using qualitative fieldwork, researchers interviewed 25 Chiang Mai University students, eight foreign male tourists, and several service providers. The goal of the study was to "... create a culturally informed understanding of the problem of the spread of AIDS through prostitution in Thailand." The authors find that beliefs and attitudes toward sexuality and prostitute patronage result in higher risk-taking behaviours among Thai citizens (men are traditionally expected to have more than one woman to satisfy their needs, whereas women are expected to remain pure until marriage). This double standard helps condone the use of prostitutes by both single and married men, thereby contributing to the spread of AIDS. Despite increased knowledge of AIDS (especially among university students) sexual practices appear unaffected in Thailand - men continue to engage in unsafe sex. There has been an increased demand for child prostitutes because of the perception that they are not infected with the disease. "If 'illogical' risk-taking continues to occur among informed college students, it is even more likely to occur among the less informed majority of the Thai population." The authors argue for a more comprehensive understanding of the culture, and a "multifaceted approach of grounded research, implementation, and follow-up."

Bell, H. & Todd, C. (1998). Juvenile prostitution in a midsize city. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 27*(3/4), 93-105.

This article examines youth prostitution in a midsize city (Austin, Texas) to determine the number of youth involved in prostitution and to compare their profiles with those identified in previous research. The authors used self-administered questionnaires with 242 at-risk juveniles; a youth was considered at-risk if they used one of three youth service agencies. The survey covered a wide range of topics: demographics, sexual history, family experiences, drug use, involvement in prostitution, etc. Twenty-one of the respondents had been involved in some form of prostitution. The authors compared the prostitute group with non-prostitutes on a number of prostitution-related variables. Those involved in prostitution were more likely to be "victims of sexual or physical abuse, to live away from their families, to attend school irregularly or not at all and to have a criminal history." The authors conclude that youth prostitution exists in Austin, and these youth need special consideration and programs (based on their historical experiences) to prevent their sexual exploitation.

Benson, C., & Matthews, R. (1995). Street prostitution: Ten facts in search for a policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law, 23*, 395-415.

The authors examine policy alternatives for dealing with female street prostitution in Britain. The paper stems from research involving interviews with vice squad officers, prostitutes, clients, resident groups, and various "authority representatives." The authors criticize "quick fix" responses to prostitution (i.e., legislation, zones of tolerance, decriminalization), citing their inability to address prostitution-related issues and concerns. As an alternative, the authors identify 10 facts to consider when developing "practical and viable policy" to address problems related to street prostitution (i.e., background and street experiences of prostitutes, information about clients and the impact of prostitution legislation). The authors argue that the law is not a panacea for dealing with street prostitution, and they advocate an approach that considers legal and extra-legal factors. Suggestions for legal and social service initiatives include: enacting procuring legislation, reviewing child welfare, introducing health education, and providing harm reduction strategies for women involved in prostitution.

Biesenthal, L. (1993). *Mediating the problematics of female youth prostitution.* Unpublished master's thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Traditional sociological and criminological research on female youth prostitution is characterized by sexist and moralistic thought that has marginalized women's experience. The author argues that female adolescent prostitutes understand their everyday life by experiencing gender inequities based on her sexuality and lifestyle. Relying on in-depth qualitative interviews with four youth involved in prostitution, this thesis provides a platform for the voice of women, and it attempts to understand how the "young female prostitute defines her world and the contradictions and problematics she faces." A review of the feminist, traditional, historical sociological/criminological, and prostitution-related literature reveals that our ability to understand female adolescent prostitution has been limited by theory biased toward youth involved in the sex trade. Using Smith's (1987) alternative sociology, the author gives voice to female adolescent prostitutes, thereby allowing them to express their experience as "subject rather than object of study."

Bittle, S. (1999). *Reconstructing "Youth prostitution" as the "Sexual procurement of children": A case study.* Unpublished master's thesis, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.

On October 15, 1986, the Canadian government introduced Bill C-15, *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code and the Canada Evidence Act*, in an effort to combat child sexual abuse. Bill C-15 included legislation criminalizing obtaining, or attempting to obtain, the sexual services of someone less than 18 years of age. Following its enactment on January 1, 1988, section 212(4) was rarely enforced. Only six charges were laid in Vancouver, British Columbia during the first six years after the new youth procurement law came into effect. Discontented service providers and community activists questioned why section 212(4) was not enforced, and they lobbied for greater protection of sexually exploited street youth. Using Vancouver as a case study, this thesis combines 32 qualitative interviews with several archival sources to examine the evolution of section 212(4). Using the concept of "claimsmaking" as a general analytical framework, the author finds that lobby group activity associated with s. 212(4) acted as a catalyst for (re)conceptualizing "youth prostitution" as the "sexual procurement of youth." The term "youth prostitute" was

discarded because it focused accountability on the youth. Instead, the terms "sexually procured youth," "sexually exploited youth," and "sexual abuse" were adopted because they described street youths as victims of "sexual predators." In the process, the buyer was constructed as a "pedophile," the devil responsible for the sexual procurement of youth. The discourse used during campaigns to have section 212(4) enforced created a frame of reference that was difficult for policy makers to ignore. Indeed, the provincial government responded to concerns about the "sexual procurement of youth" by establishing the "Provincial Prostitution Unit" and committing $1.9 million as part of the Vancouver Action Plan aimed at protecting sexually exploited youth. The thesis concludes that reform efforts associated with section 212(4) were expedited by a "rhetorical system" that conceptualized "youth prostitution" as "sexual exploitation." This discursive framework confirmed state and social services ownership of the sexual procurement of youth issue. The ensuing philosophical change in approaches to "youth prostitution" reflects a growing international construction of the "sexual exploitation of street youth" as a major social problem.

Bour, D., Young, J. & Henningsen, R. (1984). A comparison of delinquent prostitutes and delinquent non-prostitutes on self-concept. *Journal of Offender Counseling, 9*, 89-101.

This study explores differences between delinquent prostitutes and delinquent non-prostitutes. The main objectives include determining if the two groups register significantly different scores on the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS), and comparing social and demographic information between juvenile prostitute groups. The methods include social and demographic data, administering a questionnaire based on the TSCS, and conducting a chi-square analysis to determine significance of the identified variables. The data reveal that substance use is higher among non-prostitutes, and that prostitutes had their first sexual experience at an earlier age and scored higher on the Physical Self scale. The authors suggest that involvement in prostitution may be linked to "early sexual intercourse and a positive view of one's self attributes." The authors encourage more research examining the effects of parental absence and the impact of physical and sexual abuse on involvement in juvenile prostitution, and they advocate "analysis of new and existing" legal and social programs for addressing juvenile prostitution.

Boyer, D. (1986). *Street exit project: Final report.* Washington, D.C.: US Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children, Youth and Families.

The Seattle Youth and Community Services (SYCS) provide street youth with a variety of resources to promote and facilitate exiting prostitution and the street life. This report examines the functioning of SYCS to "identify factors and attributes precipitating youth's decisions to seek or sever links with services and continue or discontinue prostitution and "street" behavior." Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected from 40 male and female adolescents who engaged in prostitution and other "street" behavior. Respondents were interviewed and tracked for a 15-month period. The results reveal that 25-30 percent of the youth changed their lifestyles. "The youth who successfully exited 'street' lifestyles compared to those who have not exited experienced less child abuse prior to street involvement, had spent more time with parents or parental figures, and had become involved in street life at a later age. The primary evaluation recommendation is that programs move toward self-help models that involve youth in provision for their own needs, decision making in program operations, and services to other youth."

Bracey, D. (1983). The juvenile prostitute: Victim and offender. *Victimology, 8*, 151.

This document examines the neglect and abuses that juvenile prostitutes face before entering the sex trade, and the continued victimization they experience when pimps, customers, and muggers abuse them on the streets. The paper begins with an examination of the literature suggesting a link between early sexual victimization and involvement in prostitution, many youth leave a damaged home-life and end up on the streets where they are susceptible to "influences outside of the family" (i.e., making youth vulnerable to entering prostitution). The author asserts that U.S. society, and the criminal justice system in specific treats juvenile deviance and prostitution with ambivalence. Young prostitutes avoid the helping potential of the police in fear of being retained within the criminal justice system. Negative societal attitudes toward prostitution render it difficult to implement and provide adequate treatment of juvenile prostitutes (the lack of treatment alternatives and the increased incidence of violent juvenile crime has supported policies that treat juvenile prostitutes as criminals who need to be punished). The author concludes that most "institutions rarely offer girls satisfactory economic alternatives to prostitution."

Brannigan, A. (1996). *Victimization of prostitutes in Calgary and Winnipeg.* Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada (Report No. TR1996-15e).

In December 1985, the federal government passed legislation that criminalized communicating in public for the purpose of prostitution. In response to concerns that the communicating law contributed to the victimization of prostitutes, the Department of Justice Canada sponsored a series of studies to determine if there was a link between s.213 (the communicating law) and an increase in violence against prostitutes. The present study uses multiple sources, which included: a review of s.213 enforcement patterns, interviews with criminal justice personnel, an examination of homicide data, interviews with Calgary prostitutes, and an analysis of prostitution-related newspaper items. The data indicate 20 homicides involving prostitutes in Calgary and Winnipeg since 1985. Violence against prostitutes does not appear to be "directly" related to enforcement of the communicating law. The report includes an overview of alternative social and legal programs to deal with prostitution-related issues.

Brannigan, A., & Fleischman, F. (1989). Juvenile prostitution and mental health: Policing delinquency of treating pathology? *Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 4*, 77-97.

Approaches to youth prostitution are dominated by a therapeutic view that emphasizes sexual abuse and victimization of young persons. The authors question this model by critically reviewing the incidence of juvenile prostitution and the literature suggesting youth enter prostitution because of previous abuse. National prosecution data indicates that youth comprise only a minority of the total number of individuals charged for solicitation. Research on the association between childhood sexual, physical and emotional abuse, and subsequent involvement in prostitution is characterized by methodological and ideological inconsistencies. A review of two studies on runaways in Canada downplays the link between child abuse, leaving home at an early age, and becoming involved in prostitution. The authors question the value of addressing juvenile prostitution as pathology and the merits of treating soliciting as a crime.

Brannigan, A., & Gibbs Van Brunschot, E. (1997). Youthful prostitution and child sexual trauma. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry, 20*, 337-354.

This paper reviews the empirical literature on traumatic intrafamilial experiences and subsequent involvement in prostitution. The research suggests that prostitutes experienced rape, incest, and other sexual abuse in the family, however the "evidence is inconsistent and contradictory." The authors advocate an approach based on general control theories, an approach that focuses on socialization and control models of delinquency as opposed to pathological responses. Traumas or conflicts that result in children and youth running away from home exposes youth to delinquent situations, weakened family bonds disrupt a youth's self-control development, increasing their early sexual activities and their risk of entering prostitution. Understanding these factors can help explain entry into prostitution, without searching for "unobservable traumas and psychiatric disturbances." The authors suggest an interaction between "social control factors and the normal process of sexual development."

British Columbia. (2000). *Sexual exploitation of youth in British Columbia. Assistant Deputy Ministers' committee on prostitution and the sexual exploitation of youth.* B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General, Ministry of Children and Families, Ministry of Health and Ministry Responsible for Seniors.

This report was completed under the guidance of an inter-ministry working group of the Assistant Deputy Minister's Committee on Prostitution and the Sexual Exploitation of Youth. The Committee argued that effective strategies for addressing sexual exploitation of youth include prevention strategies, meeting the "crisis needs" of youth in the sex trade, reducing health and other risks, and developing community strategies for helping youth exit the trade. This report reviews the literature and provide results from a "jurisdictional scan and consultations with Aboriginal agencies." A review of the literature reveals that many sexually exploited youth "...come from economically disadvantaged, multi-problem families; have been abused sexually and physically as children; and have left school and home at an early age." Once on the street, with little education and work skills, some youth turn to prostitution as a "means of survival." There is a paucity of research that examines "ethnicity and other marginalizing factors" and research concerning off-street prostitution. The jurisdictional scan (interviews with services providers in nine B.C. communities) revealed that prostitution was a problem in seven of the nine communities. Key informants estimated that 20-50% of the youth sex trade takes place on the streets, while other venues include massage parlours, karaoke

bars and trick pads. Eight interviews were conducted with informants for Aboriginal agencies. Estimates of the proportion of prostitutes who are Aboriginal ranged from 14% to 60%, "depending on the community consulted." Informants suggested that most Aboriginal youth in the sex trade work on the streets, and most experienced early childhood physical and sexual abuse and have substance misuse problems. The report outlines suggestions for the integrated plan of the ADMs' Prostitution Working Group for addressing child and youth sexual exploitation.

British Columbia. (1994). *News Release: Government Action Plan to Combat the Sexual Abuse of Kids on the Street*. Government of British Columbia.

In November 1994, the British Columbia government launched the Vancouver Action Plan, a community-led initiative to combat the sexual exploitation of street youth in the Vancouver area. This news release announces the commitment of $1.9 million to enhance services for sexually procured youth, and reveals plans to confront pimps and johns. Resources focus on harm reduction strategies and long-term solutions to prevent the sexual procurement of youth.

British Columbia. (1996). *Community Consultation on Prostitution in British Columbia: Overview of Results*. B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General.

This document summarizes the government of British Columbia's community consultations on prostitution. Conduced in spring 1995, the consultation process was designed to collect data on the characteristics of prostitution and issues related to social services, law enforcement and legislative reform. It is suggested that the results could act as recommendations to the Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution, and they offer ideas for new provincial initiatives. Surveys were administered to those who attended community meetings (one on services and one on justice issues), and interviews were conducted with 75 sexually procured youth and adults (administered by street workers and other advocates) and 16 parents of youth prostitutes. Consultation meetings with customers were arranged through Sexual Addicts Anonymous.

British Columbia. (1997). *Provincial Prostitution Unit Reports*. B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General.

In September 1996, the government of British Columbia launched the Provincial Prostitution Unit, mandated to assist communities in developing and implementing prostitution-related enforcement, prevention and education strategies. This document outlines the role and policy approach of the Unit, and it details current projects and initiatives. The Unit supports the development of programs for preventing the sexual exploitation of youth involved in prostitution, reducing levels of violence against prostitutes, and addressing nuisance concerns and other prostitution-related issues. The Unit consists of three police officers, crown counsel and a community co-ordinator. From September 1996 to February 1997, the Unit held symposia throughout the province to introduce their mandate, consult with service providers about the incidence of child sexual exploitation, and help communities launch action teams. Community Action Teams work to develop prevention, education and social intervention strategies to combat the sexual procurement of youth at the community level.

British Columbia Ministry of Children and Families. (2000). *News Release: New law to keep young people safe*. Government of British Columbia.

On June 21, 2000, the British Columbia Ministry of Children and Families announced plans to introduce the *Secure Care Act 2000* in the B.C. legislature. The new legislation will give "parents and authorities the power to get help for high-risk children and youth who are unable or unwilling to help themselves." The *Act* is not limited to youth prostitution and covers other forms of "self-harm" (e.g., severe drug addiction). The *Act* empowers a parent, guardian, or director of secure care to make an application for having a child apprehended into secure care for up to 30 days. In emergency cases, authorities will have the power "to ensure the safety of a young person by detaining them for up to 72 hours for assessment and arrangement of treatment and support services."

Brock, D. (1989). Prostitutes are scapegoats in the AIDS panic. *Resources for Feminist Research, 18*(12), 13-17.

Prevailing beliefs suggest that prostitutes are carriers of sexually transmitted diseases, and that women involved in the sex trade are "morally and physically dirty." This attitude was evident during the first and second world wars when

women involved in prostitution were blamed for spreading venereal disease throughout the military. This article critically examines contemporary scapegoating of prostitutes as responsible for spreading HIV. The author berates the public, media, and police officials for suggesting that "prostitutes are causing an epidemic" in Canada. To challenge the notion that prostitutes spread HIV, the author cites data indicating that few prostitutes have been found HIV positive. Except for young women and men who recently entered the trade, the author asserts that most prostitutes practice safe sex procedures. The advocates education and prevention initiatives, "rather than searching for villains and creating scapegoats."

Brock, D. (1998). *Making work, making trouble: Prostitution as a social problem.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Prostitution as a social problem is not a new phenomenon. However, we seldom question why prostitution is treated as a social problem, and who considers it problematic. This book examines the construction of prostitution as a social problem by analyzing the regulation of prostitution from 1970 through the 1990s. The author discusses the relationship between urban gentrification and the idea that indoor prostitution constituted a social problem. The production of a moral panic led to the closure of off-street prostitution venues (mainly massage parlours), subsequently forcing many prostitutes to work on the streets, and creating new interest group concerns about the visibility of the street trade. The work of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Committee) and the introduction of Bill C-49 (the communicating law) are also discussed. In addition, the author argues that juvenile prostitution was redefined as child sexual abuse through the work of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Committee). The Badgley Report propelled demand for the expansion of "criminal law and social services, despite the questionable adequacy of these measures in meeting the needs of young prostitutes." The author cautions that the introduction of more legislation to control prostitution only serves to punish people involved in the sex trade. Brock concludes that it is necessary to transform prostitution from its current form by challenging the social conditions that makes prostitution a favourable choice for some women and young people.

Brock, D., & Kinsman, G. (1986). Patriarchal relations ignored: An analysis and critique of the Badgley report on sexual offences against children and youths. In J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys & S. Gavigan (Eds.), *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports.* Burnaby, British Columbia: Simon Fraser University.

In response to growing concerns with child sexual abuse, the federal government charged the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth to investigate the incidence of abuse and to make recommendations for combating this phenomenon. This paper criticizes the Badgley Report for its inability to address patriarchal relations that contribute to sexual offences against children and youth. Patriarchal relations are defined as "the historically developed social relations of male domination organized through the sexual division of labour, family organization and state policies." The authors argue that the Badgley Committee used a narrow legislative framework that eschewed analysis of social and economic factors associated with child sexual abuse. The Report treats sexual abuse as a uniquely sexual problem, and its administrative and managerial approach to sexual abuse provides no indication of what needs to be done to transform the social organization of male violence. The authors argue that we need to transcend discussions that treat abuse as a sexual matter, in favour of initiatives that address "relations of domination and subordination that act to imprison the lives of young people."

Brown, J., & Victor, M. (1996). Research directions in male sex work. *Journal of Homosexuality, 31*(4), 29-56.

This paper reviews the literature on male prostitution to examine theoretical and research conceptualizations of the male sex trade. The authors note that previous research focuses on the biopsychology of male prostitution; however, recent concern with acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) has shifted researchers' attention to the risk male prostitutes and their customers' face of transmitting this disease. The authors discuss the "typology and psychology of male sex workers, reasons for entering the trade, sexual orientation and practices, sexually transmitted diseases, and clients."

Brown, M. (1979). Teenage prostitution. ***Adolescence, 14***, 665-679.

This paper reviews several studies to explore the social conditions that make some girls vulnerable to "deviant sexual activity," experiences facilitating entrance into prostitution, and the way the criminal justice system deals with female adolescent prostitution. Factors identified as precipitating involvement in prostitution include: broken homes; parental neglect and abuse; educational difficulties; poor work prospects and "psychological disorientation." Alienation from conventional social values provides females with exposure to deviant lifestyles. Once exposed to deviant socialization, several motives potentially draw youth into prostitution (e.g., financial needs, the desire for adventure, associating with delinquent girls, situational factors associated with being a runaway). The author notes that the criminal justice system "over prosecutes" teenage girls; juvenile girls are harshly punished for status offences, and they are drawn further into deviant lifestyles through a process of labeling and stigmatization.

Bullens, R. (1996). Organized abuse, disorganized lives: Making a deal with the devil. ***Journal of Sexual Aggression, 2***, 99-111.

This study investigates the organized sexual abuse of adolescent boys involved in prostitution in Dutch sex clubs. In-depth interviews are conducted with eight boys (age 14-16) and five of their parents. Topics include: background characteristics of the boys; recruitment practices; indoctrination process from "passive spectator to active participant"; financial seduction and coercion; participation and responsibility factors; and, issues related to inadequate safe-sex practices. The author also reviews the motivation to remain in the club scene, and the boys' perceptions following a sexual abuse investigation by police.

California Office of Criminal Justice Planning. (1991). ***Confronting sexual exploitation of homeless youth: California's juvenile prostitution intervention projects.***

"This manual presents options and strategies to communities interested in addressing the sexual exploitation of adolescents and is based on the experience of three projects funded through the California Office of Criminal Justice Planning that provided services to runaway and homeless adolescents in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco from February 1989 to February 1991. The projects were based on the recognition that the majority of runaways who come to emergency shelters have been severely physically or sexually abused and have run away due to their stressful home environments. Many have been abandoned or told to leave home by a parent. Many turn to prostitution as a way to obtain shelter, food, clothing, or drugs, but few will admit it. During their first three years, the three projects provided outreach services to more than 5,000 youths. The manual details alternative organizational structures and staffing, factors to consider in planning and implementing a successful project, innovative project designs and services, and recommended elements of a comprehensive system of care for juvenile prostitutes."

Calgary Police Commission. (1992). ***A national task force on juvenile prostitution: A proposal for coordinated action.*** Mimeo.

The Calgary Police Service has noted an increase in the number of juveniles involved in prostitution over the past several years. In response, the Calgary Police commission introduced a Working Committee to consider the value of establishing a National Task Force on Prostitution. Initially focused on numerous prostitution-related issues, the Committee settled on juvenile prostitution as an important public concern that should be addressed. The Working Committee advocated a National Task Force on Juvenile Prostitution to explore legislative options to help decrease incidence of juvenile prostitution. The task force would make recommendations to amend and/or create new youth prostitution-related laws.

Canadian Child Welfare Association. (1987). ***Proceedings of the national consultation on adolescent prostitution.*** Ottawa: CCWA.

This document stems from transcribed tapes and group notes taken during a national consultation on juvenile prostitution. The document reviews the major themes expressed by the participants: defining the problem of juvenile prostitution; knowledge and service gaps; improving quality of services; facilitating the development of services; and fostering cross-sectional communication and co-operation. The summary aims to assist and inform governments and practitioners who are developing policies, programs and interventions that focus on juvenile prostitution.

Carter, B. (1985/86). The Badgley report from a feminist perspective. *Resources for Feminist Research, 13*(4), 42-44.

In this paper, the author critically addresses the bias and perspective contained in the Report on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report). The Badgley Committee adhered to a male-stream method of inquiry that failed to address gender as an oppressive cultural reality. Improvements to legislation, social services, and the call for more research are not discounted; however, the Committee could have addressed the systemic relationship between our patriarchal social structure and the sexual abuse of children and youth by including a feminist perspective.

Cates, J. (1989). Adolescent male prostitution by choice. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 6*, 151-56.

The literature on male prostitution is fixated on adolescent runaways who are coerced into prostitution in large urban settings. This study examines prostitution in a mid-sized midwestern city where preconditions of the sex trade differ from large cities. Male prostitutes under the age of 18 are studied to reveal that many have the necessities of food shelter and clothes, and many "return to a family at the end of an evening." Two case studies explore reasons for entry into adolescent male prostitution. The author suggests that, contrary to common assumptions, adolescent males become involved in prostitution for "emotional rather than economic needs." Adolescents who prostitute by choice appear to be victimized by their feelings of "inferiority, insecurity, and development of peer-oriented or delinquent orientation."

Cates, J., & Markley, J. (1992). Demographic, clinical, and personality variables associated with male prostitution by choice. *Adolescence, 27*, 107, 695-706.

Literature on male prostitution focuses primarily on individuals who are coerced into the sex trade, or those who participate as a means of subsistence. In this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 male hustlers and 15 male nonhustlers to examine male participation in the sex trade by choice. Respondents were asked questions about their "living status, education, employment status, values, relationships, use of drugs and alcohol, knowledge of HIV and AIDS, and family history." Male hustlers were asked about their entry into the sex trade and their experience as prostitutes. Contrary to previous studies, the data suggest that male hustlers were involved in prostitution by choice, "primarily to earn extra money." The data also suggest that male hustlers were more likely to have substance abuse issues, be more antisocial (limited support for this finding), and have "limited vocational aspirations." The authors caution that the findings are limited due to the small sample size, the geographic limitations of the subculture and the non-random selection of some respondents.

Chand, M.K., & Thompson, L. (1997). *You have heard this before: Street-involved youth and the service gaps*. Vancouver: Interministerial Street Children's Committee.

The authors of this document were directed by the city of Vancouver's Social Planning Department to identify "service gaps" for street involved youth in Vancouver, British Columbia. The authors interviewed service providers and reviewed previous studies on street-involved youth. Respondents were encouraged to canvass youth for their input on the interview questions (for this research a street youth is considered someone 12 to 19 years of age who lacks food and shelter and has become involved in Vancouver's street life). The data reveal several trends with respect to service needs/requests, and the street youth population: a consistently high number of street involved youth, a lack of shelter, more youth using intravenous drugs, "more 14-15 year olds are involved in the sex trade," and inadequate mental health and substance abuse treatment programs. Among the recommendations: more transition and safe houses for street involved youth; a youth-oriented substance abuse program; access to 24 hour services; mental health services; and more s.212(4) charges (legislation criminalizing obtaining or attempting to obtain the sexual services of someone under 18) cases brought to court, "whether or not there is a high probability of conviction."

City of Burnaby Task Force. (1998). *Report of the city of Burnaby task force on the sexual exploitation and prostitution of children and youth.* Burnaby: author.

In 1997, the city of Burnaby instructed a task force to develop a strategy to combat the sexual exploitation and prostitution of young people in that city. The task force's recommendations focus on prevention/education, supports, services and treatment for sexually exploited children and youth, and legal strategies to intervene in the lives of children and youth sexually exploited in prostitution. The task force acknowledges the difficulty with establishing an accurate estimate on the number of youth involved in the sex trade; however, "anecdotal evidence from service providers and youth themselves indicates that Burnaby young people are being recruited into the sex trade." The task force also asserts that "sexual exploitation in the sex trade is sexual abuse," and that the law is not a panacea for this phenomenon. Among the recommendations for an action plan: develop community education and awareness campaign to identify children-at-risk and draw attention to recruitment techniques; raise the age of sexual consent from 14 to 16 years of age; initiatives to secure prosecutions against people who sexually exploit children and youth; co-ordination and integration of services; and, the development of services and treatments for sexually exploited children and youth. The task force concludes that implementation of their recommendations will involve discussion and co-operation among "government representatives, service providers, sexually exploited children and youth, and community members."

Clark, L. (1986). Boys will be boys: Beyond the Badgley report: A critical review. In J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys, & S. Gavigan (Eds.), *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports.* (pp. 93-106). Burnaby, British Columbia: Simon Fraser University.

The Badgley Report assembles an impressive amount of information concerning sexual offences against children and youth. Notwithstanding the Report's scope, several criticisms emerged after the Committee released its findings. In this paper, the author criticizes the Badgley Report for its paternalistic tone, and not recognizing that child sexual abuse is a result of our patriarchal social structure. The Badgley Report indicates that an overwhelming majority of those who sexually assault, abuse and exploit children and youth are males. However, there is no analytical recognition of this important gender dynamic. Further, the Report identifies child sexual abuse as repulsive, however it ignores the patriarchal status quo, especially the role of the family in protecting male interests. The author concludes that male sexual socialization and other patriarchal power structures must be addressed if we are to reduce the incidence of sexual offences against children and youth.

Coleman, E. (1989). The development of male prostitution activity among gay and bisexual adolescents. *Journal of Homosexuality, 17,* 131-149

This paper reviews the literature on male-juvenile prostitution to help establish some theoretical understanding of gay and bisexual adolescent participation in prostitution. The author asserts a relationship between gay and bisexual adolescent psychosexual and psychological development and vulnerable situational variables. "More severe disruptions in psychosexual and psychological development seem to result in more destructive and non-ego enhancing prostitution activities." The development of this process is presented through a clinical case study. Initiatives to reduce the incidence of "self-destructive prostitution activity among male adolescents" are also discussed.

Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (Badgley) (C.S.O.A.C.Y). (1984). *Sexual offences against children.* Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services.

In 1981, the Canadian government introduced the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Committee) in response to concerns about the sexual abuse of young people. Because of a perceived increase in the number of youth involved in prostitution, "juvenile prostitution" was included in the Committee's mandate. The Badgley Committee was instructed to explore legal sanctions to help confront child sexual abuse and make recommendations for protecting children at risk. The final report contained 52 recommendations to help confront the sexual exploitation of youth, including conclusions and recommendations the Committee made following interviews with 229 juvenile prostitutes. The Committee produced substantial biographical information about youth prostitutes in Canada: e.g., 27.6% of the females and 13.1% of the males were under 16; many juvenile prostitutes were runaways from home situations they described as intolerable; many male prostitutes ran away from home because

they were ridiculed and ostracized for their homosexual preferences; most respondents were undereducated in comparison to other Canadian youth; and, existing social services have been ineffective at providing adequate protection and assistance. Using the National Population Survey as a comparison group, the Committee concluded that juvenile prostitutes did not experience more sexual offences when growing up than other Canadian youth. The Committee made several recommendations to address youth prostitution, which include: criminalizing customers of juvenile prostitutes; criminalizing young prostitutes to keep them from a life of prostitution; and, prevention and education programs to reduce the incidence of juvenile prostitution.

Committee for Sexually Exploited Youth in the CRD (1997). *A consultation with 75 sexually exploited youth in the Capital Regional District (CRD) of British Columbia*. B.C.: Ministry of Attorney General.

In 1996, a Task Force on Sexually Exploited Youth in Victoria, British Columbia instructed a "Research Subgroup" to identify youth sexually exploited in the sex trade and provide information on the needs of this population. The research subgroup aimed to provide sexually exploited youth in the sex trade with a forum to share their backgrounds, behaviours, and experiences in prostitution. Questionnaires that focus on "demographics, type and frequency of trading sexual favours, violence, safety and prevention, exiting the sex trade, the housing needs of sexually exploited youth, health, condom usage, drug and alcohol use, and criminal history" were administered to 75 respondents. The study reveals that the average age of entry into prostitution was 15.5 years of age. Many respondents became involved in prostitution as a means of subsistence (i.e., for shelter, food and clothing), and many youth experienced physical and sexual abuse at the hands of customers and pimps. The study documents problems with a lack of housing for sexually exploited youth in the sex trade, and inadequate assistance with "child care; drug and alcohol addiction; health and health care access; staying in school; education; skills and training, as well as a lack of social supports."

Csapo, M. (1986). Juvenile Prostitution. *Canadian Journal of Special Education, 2*(2), 145-170.

This article synthesizes information on youth prostitution produced by the Badgley and Fraser Committees, as well as other related reports and briefs. The author reviews several topics, including information on the incidence of youth prostitution, characteristics of juvenile prostitutes, data on pimps and customers, legislation to protect children and youths, and proposed legal and social solutions to combat juvenile prostitution. A combination of socio-legal educational programs emerges from the recommendations as the most effective way to address the sexual exploitation of children and youth.

C/S Resors Consulting Limited, Research in Socio-Economic Research. (1996). *Report of the findings from the evaluation of the Vancouver Action Plan (VAP)*. Vancouver, B.C.: Ministry of Social Services.

In 1994, the British Columbia government launched the Vancouver Action Plan (VAP); a $1.9 million community-based initiative to augment existing social services to sexually exploited street youth in Vancouver. This evaluation study used multiple lines of evidence to research the efficiency and effectiveness of the VAP process, the outcome of program components, and lessons to heed in the design and implementation of future government and community partnerships. The researchers cite the VAP's community-centred approach and the enhancement of existing services as strengths of the process. Problems identified with the process include concerns about the funding sequence and accountability, management of the process, and stakeholder and community participation. The evaluators conclude that competing interests and philosophies, personality differences, and struggles for resources characterized the VAP. Nevertheless, the authors believe the VAP helped build government and community partnerships and enhance services for sexually exploited street youth. The evaluators recommend future community initiatives that incorporate best practices principles.

Currie, S., Lalibertie, N., Bird, S., Rosa, N., & Spring, C. (1995). *Assessing the violence against street-involved women in the downtown eastside/Strathcona community*.

Women involved in prostitution are facing an increased amount of emotional, physical and sexual abuse. In 1993, a coalition of Vancouver service agencies initiated a study to explore issues associated with violence against street-involved women. A research team facilitated a series of focus group discussions (60 street-involved women) to gather information on issues related to victimization. Issues identified in the group discussions helped in the developing

questions for 85 in-depth, one-to-one interviews. The interviews focused on demographics, services, housing, alcohol and other drugs, HIV/AIDS, training, police and police services, restraining orders and bad dates. The findings indicate that a majority of prostitutes experienced violence (sexual and physical abuse) at home, and while involved in prostitution. Almost all (98%) of the women experienced violence because of a bad date, and youth involved in prostitution were identified as more at risk of being victimized than were adult prostitutes. Further, most prostitutes have no access to adequate housing, and they face alcohol and drug related problems, concerns with HIV/AIDS, and lack the necessary skills to find employment. The report includes recommendations for increasing the "health and safety of women in the community."

Damgaard, K. (1995). Child prostitution: A necessary evil. *Skolepsykologi*, 32, 5-6.

This paper reviews research conducted by Dorit Otzen on child prostitution (aged 11-16). The research reveals social and political trends, such as sexual abuse, child pornography and the closure of psychiatric institutions for children. The "personal and social costs of increasing" child prostitution cases are also discussed.

Daum, K. (1996). *Position paper on law 212(4): A time for action.* Vancouver, B.C.

Section 212(4) of the *Criminal Code* criminalizes obtaining, or attempt to obtain the sexual services of someone under the age of 18. However, following its enactment in 1988 the new youth procurement legislation was rarely enforced. This report was commissioned by the Downtown Eastside Youth Activities Society (Vancouver) to examine the lack of charges under section 212(4). The author argues that street children and youth must be protected from the sexual advances of predators and pedophiles. The police, the courts and politicians are berated for not arresting customers of sexually procured youth, and for not fixing the problems associated with enforcing section s.212(4). The report advocates immediate intervention that includes policies against arresting sexually exploited youth under the communicating law, and amending s.212(4) to make it enforceable. The Ministry of Social Services is encouraged to launch sexual abuse investigations against men who buy or offer to buy sex from kids.

Daum, K. (1998). *The sequel: A time for action 2.* Vancouver, B.C.

This report is a follow-up to a 1996 document that criticizes the enforcement of s.212(4) (criminalizing purchasing or attempting to purchase the sexual services of a youth). The author acknowledges an increase since 1997 in the number of charges against "men who bought sex from a minor" in Vancouver; however, she still believes that not enough has been done to protect sexually exploited children. This report criticizes the newly appointed Provincial Prostitution Unit (an initiative to help solve problems associated with the enforcement of s.212(4) and other prostitution-related issues) for failing to adequately enforce s.212(4) in Vancouver. The report criticizes the lack of s.212(4) charges across Canada (166 total charges in 1996/97); a fact the author finds concerning when considering that 3,736 communicating charges (s.213) were administered across Canada during the same period. The author argues: "the statistics show that if you buy sex from a juvenile you are less likely to be charged than if you buy it from an adult." The author advocates the development of adequate resources for sexually exploited children and youth, and recommends the use of existing sexual offence sections of the *Criminal Code* to protect sexually exploited children from sexual predators.

Daum, K., & Dion, A. (1996). *You are not alone: A support guide for parent and caregivers of sexually exploited children.* Vancouver, B.C.

Parents with children involved in the sex trade experience considerable trauma and crisis. Funded by a Vancouver service agency, this guide provides information and support to parents and caregivers of sexually exploited youth. The guide offers background information about the reasons why some youth leave home and subsequently become involved in the sex trade. The authors suggest a family-centred approach that does not blame the child for becoming involved in prostitution. Parents of sexually exploited youth are encouraged to take responsibility for any mistakes they made prior to their child becoming involved in prostitution. The guide provides information on health-related issues for street-involved youth, and it clarifies legal issues and identifies available resources and services in British Columbia.

David, F. (2000). *Child sex tourism (Report No. 156).* Australia: Australian Institute of Criminology: Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice.

"Today, twenty-four countries around the world have legislation that makes 'child sex tourism', and its associated practices, a criminal conduct, even when the act concerned was committed overseas." Sex tourists typically seek sexual services of children in developing countries. These children are vulnerable to sexual exploitation because of "poverty, social dislocation, family breakdown, and prior experiences of sexual victimisation, and/or homelessness." This paper reviews the *Australian Crimes (Child Sex Tourism) Amendment Act 1994*, including a discussion of several cases prosecuted under this legislation. The Act makes it an offence to engage or participate in sexual intercourse/conduct with a child under the age of 18 while outside of Australia and to induce a child to engage in sexual intercourse "with a third person outside of Australia." Examples of successful prosecutions include cases where the accused pled guilty, after police uncovered sexually explicit photos, and where overseas witnesses supplied evidence. Practical limitations of the legislation include problems securing overseas evidence and the difficulties associated with dealing with child witnesses. Another barrier to successful prosecutions is that most children and parents do not report cases of child sex tourism to authorities. The author concludes that there is no evidence of whether the *Sex Tourism Act* has any deterrent effect on "Australians determined to have sex with children overseas."

Dawson, R. (1987). Child sexual abuse, juvenile prostitution and child pornography: The federal response. *Journal of Child Care, 3*(2), 19-51.

This article reviews the federal government's response to the Report on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report, 1984). Social service practitioners are encouraged to review the proposed changes and provide feedback to the relevant federal departments. Areas of interest for the author include changes affecting the criminal justice system, and the new responsibilities awarded to the Department of Health and Welfare in funding special child sexual abuse initiatives. The author notes the federal government's proposal to create tough sanctions for pimps and customers of youth prostitutes, and that the federal government rejected the creation of a specific offence for juvenile prostitutes. Dawson criticizes the lack of funding allocated for prevention and intervention, citing the inadequacy of $5 million per year earmarked for all intervention programs.

Deis, M., Rokosh, K., Sagert, S., Robertson, B., & Kerr-Fitzsimmons, I. (2000). *A historical Act – Bill 1: Protection of children involved in prostitution*.

This document reviews the history and scope of the *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act* (PCHIP). In June 1996, the Alberta government convened the Task Force on Children Involved in Prostitution (the Forsyth Report). In response to the report, the government of Alberta introduced, among other initiatives, the *PCHIP Act*. The *Act* protects "children involved in prostitution and [help] them to end their involvement in prostitution." The *Act* addresses youth prostitutes as "victims of sexual abuse" who need protection, and empowers officials to remove youth prostitutes from the street and place them in protective confinement for up to 72 hours, where they will receive emergency care and treatment and assessment. The *Act* also includes "legal penalties for johns and pimps" (guilty of child abuse). Youth can be apprehended through an order (in cases where the youth refuses community support or where programs cannot protect the youth) or without an order in emergency situations when the "child is in immediate danger."

Deischer, R., Robinson, G., & Boyer, D. (1982). The adolescent male and female prostitute. *Pediatric Annals, 11*, 819-825.

"This article describes the process of involvement in prostitution, highlights characteristics of adolescent male and female prostitution and offers practical suggestions for intervention by physicians."

Dematteo, D., Major, C., Block, B., Coates, R., Fearon, M., Goldberg, E., King, S., Millson, M., O'Shaughnessy, M. & Read, S. (1999). Toronto street youth and HIV/AIDS: Prevalence, demographics, and risks. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 25,* 358-366.

This study provides information on the prevalence of HIV among street youth, identifies the HIV risk and prevention behaviors of youth, and discusses the factors contributing to street youth becoming infected with the disease. Respondents included youth between the ages of 14 and 25 who had been on the streets or using the services of a street youth agency in downtown Toronto. Six hundred and ninety-five interviews and linked samples (blood and saliva) were obtained (participants were asked to voluntarily provide blood and or saliva samples following the interview). Most youth reported welfare, family and panhandling as sources of income; however, 45% of the youth between 20-22 years of age reported prostitution as a means of subsistence. Males and females identified a desire for autonomy as the primary reason for leaving home. Females also stated difficulties with personal relationships as an underlying factor. In terms of sexual experience, 28% of the females indicated that their first sexual experience had been by rape or coercion. The study also reveals that individuals with an early sexual initiation were most likely to engage in prostitution. Among the youth involved in prostitution, 80% of the females and 67% of the males used condoms consistently. The authors suggest "street youth in Canada are at high risk of HIV infection with their risk increasing with age." The authors further note that "social connections and supportive networks" are necessary to help keep youth off the streets. The socioeconomic changes that have occurred during the last decade have placed enormous burdens, both socially and psychologically, on many of today's youth. These social factors must be taken into consideration when addressing the issue of street youth in Canada.

Department of Justice Canada. (1989). *Street prostitution: Assessing the impact of the law. Synthesis report.* Ottawa: author.

In December 1985, the federal government introduced Bill C-49, criminalizing communicating in public for the purpose of prostitution. Included in Bill C-49 was a mandatory review clause. In response, the Department of Justice Canada commissioned a series of regional evaluations (Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax; with some consideration of prostitution-related activities in Regina, Winnipeg, London, Niagara Falls, Ottawa, Trois-Riviere and Quebec City) to examine the effectiveness of Bill C-49 (the communicating law). This report provides a synthesis of these regional evaluations. Researchers were asked to examine the following: 1) "Has there been a reduction in the number and visibility of street prostitutes and their customers?" 2) "What have been the law's other effects?" 3) "Have the police and the courts found the law easier to apply than previous legislation?" 4) Has the law been applied equally to male and female prostitutes, and their customers?" Some of the findings included: 1) prostitutes charged with communicating for the first time received more severe sentences than did first time offender customers (this was not found in Montreal). 2) It was difficult to determine whether Bill C-49 clearly reduced the "magnitude of the street sex trade," however, in Vancouver and Toronto the law had "virtually no success in moving prostitutes off the street." 3) Street prostitution continued to be a "dangerous trade," and in some jurisdictions prostitutes were displaced to areas of "more isolation, increasing the danger to them." With respect to "juvenile prostitution," the report noted a "divergence of opinion as to the extent of juvenile prostitution in Canada." In some jurisdictions, criminal justice personnel believed that Bill C-49 helped them provide "control and structure in the lives of young people." However, "for other more damaged youngsters, it simply meant further criminalization."

Dorais, M. (1996). The coping strategy of boys who are victims of sexual abuse. *Social Worker, 64,* 75-88.

This research examines the nature and implications of coping strategies used by victims of child sexual abuse. The author poses the question: "What are the impacts of sexual aggression on the self-development of the male victims?" Relying on grounded theory and analytical induction, the author conducts qualitative interviews with 30 young men between the ages of 16 and 45 (average age 24.5) who were sexually victimized by older men when they were children (average age at time of victimization was 8.4). The results indicate that some youth were re-victimized (both passively and actively) through a belief that "abuse was an inescapable life circumstance." A majority of respondents fantasized about abuse, and 33% had perpetrated abuse. The author cautions against the conclusion that "those who have been abused will become abusers;" instead he argues it represents a coping mechanism, or a "momentary resolution" to the abuse they experienced during their youth. Adopting the perpetrator role represents an effort "to confirm one's masculinity." For some, feelings associated with previous abuse resulted in delinquency, gay bashing, and "aggressive" prostitution (a form of misplaced revenge against the true aggressor). Some respondents indicated their

victim experience was a source of "arousal and pleasure," while others denied their victimization through the adoption of "conformist behaviours." The research provides male childhood sexual abuse victims with an indication of the impact of their coping strategies in helping or preventing them from "escaping that experience."

Duchesne, D. (1997). Street Prostitution in Canada. *Juristat: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 17*(2).

This Statistics Canada Juristat reports on the incidence of prostitution-related *Criminal Code* offences in the period 1977-1995. With respect to youth prostitution, the author notes that only a minority of prostitution-related offences in 1995 involved persons under the age of 18 (3%). "This small proportion of charges against youth (aged 12-17) may reflect a growing use of social services and other deterrence practices by police." Further, the report notes an increased number of communicating charges against men, a change that may reflect an attempt to hold customers accountable for participating in prostitution.

Earls, C., & David, H. (1989). Male and female prostitution: A review. *Annals of Sex Research, 2*, 5-28.

Academics from various disciplines have written about male and female prostitution. A majority of these interdisciplinary discussions attempt to make sense of the phenomenon of prostitution by describing the psychosocial characteristics of prostitutes. This paper criticizes the available literature on methodological and conceptual grounds: i.e., 1) inadequate operationalization of subtypes of prostitutes, 2) "faulty subject selection methods", 3) studies that include inappropriate comparison groups, 4) distinct research and theory based on the sex of the prostitute. Despite these weaknesses, the authors identify several variables that distinguish prostitutes from non-prostitutes.

Earls, C., & David, H. (December 1990). Early family and sexual experiences of male and female prostitutes. *Canada's Mental Health, 37/38*(1), 7-11.

A growing body of research suggests that prostitutes grew up in dysfunctional family settings. However, studies asserting this claim have used incommensurate comparison groups. Earls and David administer a structured questionnaire (98 questions) to 100 males and 100 females, including 50 males and 50 females engaged in prostitution. Questions focus on early family and sexual experiences. The data suggest no significant difference between prostitute and non-prostitute groups regarding divorce and/or separation among parents, parental absence or level of reported verbal abuse. However, female prostitutes lived away from home at an earlier age and experienced more physical violence at home than their female counterparts. Male prostitutes witnessed more violence between parents and drug and alcohol use among family members, and were more likely to identify male partners as their first sexual encounter. Both male and female prostitutes characterized their home-life atmosphere in more negative terms, and they were more likely to have experienced sexual interaction with a family member. The authors conclude that factors associated with family environment may be too inclusive and possibly misplaced. Instead, home-life experiences may contribute to prostitution as an economic alternative; correlates of entering prostitution appear to include running away at an early age, having a history of sexual abuse, and, for males, having homosexual preferences.

Earls, C., & David, H. (1989a). A psychosocial study of male prostitution. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 18*, 401-419.

The authors administered a semi-structured questionnaire to 50 male prostitutes and 50 male non-prostitutes. The subjects were matched on age, sex and socio-economic status (SES). Questions focused on family background, sexual and criminal history, present life circumstances, substance use, and "sexual practices with clients." Thirty-five of the respondents were given the Beck Depression Inventory and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. The data suggest that differences between the groups do not support previous research on demographic profiles of male prostitutes. The authors argue that factors associated with financial gain, homosexuality, and early sexual experiences may be more significant in determining entry into prostitution than family background.

Edney, R. (1988). The impact of sexual abuse on adolescent females who prostitute. In M. Michaud (Ed.), *Dead end: Homeless teenagers, a multi-service approach*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.

This article examines the following questions: why do some sexually abused youth enter prostitution? What is the impact of sexual abuse on youth involved in prostitution? The author contextualizes sexual abuse by examining several social structural variables, including: cultural factors, the family, sexual socialization, social services and schools. The impact of sexual abuse on the victim's self-esteem and physical and mental condition is outlined. Overall, the author argues that child sexual abuse is a reflection of male domination and control. Young victims of sexual abuse experience a sense of loss and diminished self-esteem, thereby preparing them for sexual acts they may perform on the streets.

Edney, R. (1990). *The relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution in females*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia,British Columbia.

This study involves interviews with eight women involved in prostitution who have experienced sexual abuse. The narrative data reveal both social-structural and intra-psychic factors that influenced the participant's decision to enter prostitution. The author identifies several social-structural factors or the cultural and societal context of childhood development (i.e., cultural factors, gender stereotypes, family, schools, social networks, social services, employment structures, religious beliefs, sexual abuse and entry into prostitution). Intra-psychic factors are identified as alienation, identity and personal control. The author uses Sullivan's (1984) theory of critical interpretation to examine the impact of the social structure on the respondents' lives, behaviour and choices. "This research found that sexual abuse and the victims' responses to sexual abuse prepared and trained the young girls for prostitution." The data suggest a link between alienation, sexual abuse and entry into juvenile prostitution. Respondents reported their personal control was limited by social limitations maintained by social structural conditions.

Federal/Provincial/Territorial Working Group on Prostitution. (1998). *Report and recommendations in respect of legislation, policy and practices concerning prostitution-related activities.* Ottawa.

In 1992, the Federal/Provincial/Territorial (F/P/T) Deputy Justice Ministers instructed a working group on prostitution to examine "legislation, policy and practices concerning prostitution-related activities and bring forward recommendations to address problems posed by prostitution." Youth involvement in prostitution, violence against prostitutes and neighborhood concerns associated with the street sex trade were earmarked as primary issues of concern. The Working Group released its findings and recommendations in December 1998, which included several recommendations with respect to youth involvement in prostitution. The Working Group stated that legal and social intervention strategies must be developed to combat youth involvement in the sex trade, and youth involved in s.213 offences should be dealt with as in need of assistance and "distinct from being treated as offenders." Other recommendations concerning youth involvement in prostitution included: the need to increase awareness of the "dynamics of youth involved in prostitution" among criminal justice personnel; amend s.212(4) to make it easier for police to arrest customers of young prostitutes; special witness protection programs to help young prostitutes testify in court against pimps and customers; the development of "interdisciplinary protocols" which involve child welfare, the police and the crown to address youth involvement in the sex trade – an approach that uses the criminal justice system as a measure of last report; emphasis on alternative measures for youth involved in prostitution; and, improved services (i.e., education, prevention, harm reduction and exit supports) for youth involved in prostitution "or at risk of such involvement."

Firme, T., Grinder, R., & Barreto, M. (1991). Adolescent female prostitutes on the streets of brazil: An exploratory investigation of ontological issues. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 6*, 493-504.

This study provides a preliminary description of young female prostitutes in Brazil. The study includes interviews with 21 young prostitutes actively soliciting on the streets of Porto Alegre, Brazil. Contrary to first world literature suggesting a link between entry into prostitution and abusive socialization, the present study finds that a proportion of third world youth are drawn into prostitution because of the prospective financial reward. The authors suggest that participation in adolescent female prostitution in Third World countries may have a greater association with "economic considerations" than factors related to social stress.

Fleischman, J. (1995). ***Violence against prostitutes in Halifax (1980-1994).*** Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.

In December 1985, the federal government passed legislation that criminalized communicating in public for the purpose of prostitution. Immediate concern surfaced that the communicating law would force prostitutes to ply their trade in more secluded and dangerous locales, to avoid detection by police. Sponsored by the Department of Justice Canada, this study examines if there is a relationship between the enforcement of the communicating law and violence against street prostitutes. The report design includes police occurrence reports, homicide data, interview with criminal justice personnel, and an analysis of newspaper items. The sources describe numerous incidents of violence against prostitutes by pimps and customers. However, the police, crown, defence and social agencies state that enforcement of Bill C-49 (the communicating law) has not created a more dangerous working milieu for street prostitutes.

Gaetz, S., O'Grady, B., & Vaillancourt, B. (1999). ***Making money: The shout clinic report on homeless youth and employment.*** Toronto: Central Toronto Community Health Centres.

This report documents the findings from "action research" with 360 homeless youth in Toronto. According to the authors, participatory action research involves "including those who are intended as the subject of research in all aspects of the research, including the design, implementation and analysis of the project." The goal of the research was to "determine the needs and capacities of street youth with regards to employment." The study included structured, self-administered surveys and open-ended interviews. The sample of 360 youth (64% male) completed the self-administered survey, while 20 youth participated in open-ended interviews. The authors found that a majority of youth experienced an "unbearable" home life that propelled them onto the streets. A majority of youth experienced physical, sexual and emotional abuse before running away or being "thrown away" from home. Ten percent of the sample was involved in the sex trade as a way to make money. The authors argue the "...choices that street youth make to survive are shaped by the lives that they had experienced prior to being on the street, as well as being related to their experiences while on the street. The youth who appear to be the most disadvantaged, both in terms of their past and present circumstances, tend to be associated with economic activity which is rooted in the sex industry." The report includes recommendations to help youth "move in the direction of employment – and a life off the streets."

Garbarino, J. (1980). Meeting the needs of mistreated youths. ***Social Work, 25,*** 122-126.

This document provides information and outlines theories about the abuse of adolescents as a precursor for recommending strategies to address the needs of mistreated youth between the ages of 12 to 18. According to national (U.S.) data of case reports, adolescents are victims of abuse in approximately 50% of the cases reported to "state central registries." The data also suggest that abused youth runaway from home and may engage in prostitution, become delinquents, attempt suicide and abuse substances. Participation in many of these activities results in frequent contact with social services and juvenile justice agencies. Many of these youth experience problems in adulthood, and difficulty in the "parental role in particular." The author advocates a multi-agency approach for meeting the needs of mistreated youths, including the introduction of "peer and self-help groups" and other community-based initiatives.

Gibbs Van Brunschot, E., & Brannigan, A. (1992). ***Childhood correlates of career prostitution.*** Unpublished paper.

Numerous studies explore the link between child sexual abuse and careers in prostitution. After reviewing the extant literature, Van Brunschot and Brannigan agree there is evidence linking sexual abuse with subsequent involvement in prostitution; however, they highlight considerable disagreement concerning the prevalence and nature of the link. This study uses a model of career selection for prostitution that emphasizes familial background, personal trauma, and deviant tendencies as factors contributing to involvement in prostitution. The authors conducted in-depth interviews with 18 adult female prostitutes, 10 female youth prostitutes, and eight male respondents (one was a juvenile). A control group of 95 introductory level junior college and university students completed a questionnaire. In contrast to previous research, the authors fail to find a significant difference between the amount of sexual abuse experienced by prostitute and control groups. The strongest coefficients associated with prostitution were criminal records, runaway experience, having children, physical abuse, and non-traditional familial arrangements.

Gibson Ainyette, I., Templer, D., Brown, R., & Veaco, L. (1988). Adolescent female prostitutes. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour, 17*, 431-438.

This study examines the characteristics and functioning of adolescent female prostitutes. Psychometric instruments and a life-history inventory were administered to a group of adolescent female prostitutes and a control group of "normal" female adolescents. Results from the Minimult clinical scales reveal that adolescents displayed greater psychopathology. Prostitutes were more likely to express negative attitudes towards men, and they were more likely to have been enrolled in special education courses.

Godin, R., Mathews, F., & Metson, J. (Eds.). (1990). *Does anybody care? Proceedings of the follow-up consultation on juvenile (adolescent) prostitution.* Halifax: Children's Aid Society.

In 1987, the National Advisory Committee on Juvenile (Adolescent) Prostitution issued its "Summary of Proceedings" of the "National Consultation on Juvenile Prostitution." This document summarizes the "Follow-Up Consultation" that took place in 1990 to evaluate any changes in policy, services and legislation concerning youth prostitution. Forty-five participants from the initial process were invited to participate in the follow-up consultation; questionnaires were administered to gather information from the remaining participants who could not attend the follow-up session. The follow-up consultation reveals that few changes occurred in relation to youth prostitution; it remains a serious issue characterized by inadequate policies and services, and youth prostitutes continue to experience abuse (both before they enter prostitution and once they are on the streets) and various health-related problems. The document outlines steps and actions for combating youth prostitution.

Gonsiorek, J., Bera, W., & LeTourneau, D. (1994). Male sexual abuse: A trilogy of intervention strategies. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

This book was written to expose mental health and human service professionals to different perspectives of intervention for adolescent and young adult males who are victims or perpetrators of sexual abuse. Two chapters are dedicated to the issue of male prostitution (chapters 8 and 9). The author examines the effects of prostitution and argues that assessing the impact of prostitution includes consideration of three variables: life experiences prior to involvement in prostitution, the extent and duration of the involvement, and the individual's sexual orientation. The author rejects conventional views of the causes of entry into prostitution, arguing they are too focused on personal pathology/deviance and neglect important social interactions. The author supports the view espoused by Mathews (1989), which accounts for various social relationships. Various treatment approaches and the "detached youth work" model are also described.

Gray, D. (1973). Turning-out: A study of teenage prostitution. *Urban Life and Culture, 1*, pp.401-425.

This study, conducted in Seattle, Washington between August 1970 and June 1971, examines why some female adolescents enter prostitution. The author constructs a natural history on the process of entering prostitution by conducting interviews with 21 adolescent female prostitutes. The data reveal that many youth experienced "emotional depravation" in their family, school and work environments. Many report a lack of social reinforcement, resulting in alienation from conventional environments and subsequent exposure to "unconventional behaviour." All participants indicated they knew someone (a relative or friend) involved in prostitution before they entered the sex trade, which provided the opportunity to be introduced to the "culture of prostitution." The author suggests the transition into prostitution is related to its accessibility, and ability to provide the social acceptance that is absent in other areas of the youths' lives. Descriptions of relationships with pimps and customers ranged from business-like to violent and brutal. Despite conflict with the law and encounters with abusive customers and pimps, the social and material gains associated with prostitution, and its demand in the market economy make it difficult for many youths to leave the sex trade.

Green, A., Day, S., & Ward, H. (2000). Crack cocaine and prostitution in London in the 1990s. *Sociology of Health and Illness, 22*(1) 27-39.

The exchange of sexual services for crack cocaine is a growing concern in London, England. This article reports findings from a study that explored the presence and the impact of crack on the sex industry. Interviews were conducted with thirty-seven women aged 16-42 years (all but one was currently involved in prostitution). Eighty-four percent of the respondents started working in the sex industry before using crack cocaine. Age at entry into prostitution varied between 12 and 37 years. Overall, interviews revealed "women who have used crack and worked in prostitution show that use of the drug presents few difficulties for many in the industry, in contrast to widely held beliefs." However, many respondents believed that the use of crack increased their vulnerability to a number of hazards such as exploitation, violence and unsafe sex. Women reported occasional difficulties separating recreational drug use from work. Although none of the women exchanged sex for crack exclusively, many started providing sexual services to suppliers and to clients who used drugs. Crack was present within all sectors of the industry, not simply within street prostitution. The authors conclude that established occupational codes ("such as being paid with money for services and using condoms") would help health promotion initiatives for existing crack users and those new to the sex trade.

*** Green, R. The sexual tourist and international law. In J.E. Elias, V.L. Bullough, V. Elias, & G. Brewer (Eds.), *Prostitution: On whores, hustlers and johns* (446-473). New York: Prometheus Books.**

There are numerous legal and ethical issues associated with sex tourism laws. Legal issues include inconsistency between countries with respect to age of consent. "A person having sex with a young person in a host country may commit a crime in his home country if the age of consent is higher in the home country." Several problems impede the collecting evidence of sex tourism offences (e.g., quality of potential witnesses and the location of the witness and accused). "The ethical issues include the potential paternalism of first world countries attempting to right wrongs in third world countries."

Greene, J., Ennett, S., & Ringwalt, C. (1999). Prevalence and correlates of survival sex among runaway and homeless youth. *American Journal of Public Health, 89*(9), 1406-1409.

The authors of this study examine the "prevalence and correlates of survival sex among runaway and homeless youths." Interviews were conducted with 640 shelter youths and 528 street youths in various cities across the United States. The report demonstrates that 27.5% of the street sample and 9.5% of the shelter sample had previously engaged in survival sex (defined as the selling of sex to "meet subsistence needs"). Length of time away from home was correlated with participation in survival sex. Further, youth who had been victimized, participated in criminal behaviors, attempted suicide, used or were using drugs, contracted an STD and had once been pregnant were more likely to have been involved in survival sex. The authors maintain that prostitution is an "economic survival strategy," and suggest that childhood abuse is an important precursor to participation in survival sex. "The findings highlight the urgent need to develop intensive and long-term services that provide alternatives to the sex trade as mean of meeting economic needs, as well as comprehensive counseling and treatment services to assist youths with drug addictions, mental health problems, and family problems."

*** Greene, J.K., Mulroy, S. & O'Neill, M. (1997). Young people and prostitution from a youth perspective. In D. Barret (Ed.), *Child Prostitution in Britain*. London: The Children's Society.**

The authors describe the social service and legislative environment in Britain as having links to youth poverty, homelessness and prostitution. Among the issues identified by service providers who deal with youth prostitutes: health concerns, the negative impact of criminalization, and the barriers that many prostitutes face when accessing services. The authors encourage a multi-agency response to youth prostitution, as well as welfare and harm reduction measures. The articles also discuss the need for more research, better training for service providers, and measures for targeting child abusers.

Hagan, J., & McCarthy, B. (1992). Street life and delinquency. *British Journal of Sociology, 43*(4), 533-561.

Research examining the relationship between social class and delinquency among youth attending schools has neglected the experiences of street involved youth. In this study, the authors administered surveys to a sample of school and street youth in Toronto (N=1000). The study relies on an integrated control and strain theory of delinquency and crime, focusing on "parental class origins; family structure; parental control and conflict; school involvement, commitment and conflict; and the current class conditions involved in life on the street." The data reveal that youth from "surplus populations" are more likely to experience difficulties at home, followed by running away and taking part in serious delinquency. The authors conclude that "current class conditions" of street youth causes delinquency, and they encourage further research that incorporates "street-based" samples.

Hagan, J. & McCarthy, B. (1997). *Mean streets: Youth crime and homelessness.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Many street-involved youth are exposed to "highly criminogenic" situations, both in their backgrounds and in their street experiences. However, most criminological research ignores the adversity of the street life and its impact on the incidence of crime. The authors of this book examine the family and social backgrounds, living conditions and criminal activities of street youth in Toronto and Vancouver. Two data sources include a survey of 390 street youth in Toronto and a panel study of 482 street youth interviewed in Toronto and Vancouver. Disruptive family backgrounds (including class and its association with "erratic and explosive parenting, parental rejection and family disruption") and unstable school experiences contribute to a youth's decision to runaway to the streets. Once on the streets, situational difficulties influence many youth to participate in a variety of crimes (e.g., prostitution and theft). Two differences are noted between Toronto and Vancouver. Toronto has a well established social service network that offers street youth some form of a "social safety net," thereby decreasing their involvement in street crime. Vancouver has a "crime control oriented model" and a lack of services to provide assistance. Street youth in Vancouver therefore spend more time on the streets and are exposed to more criminal opportunities, hence, they experience more conflict with the law. All street youth have criminal associations where they learn "skills and knowledge" associated with street crime. Involvement in the criminal justice system may only serve to further entrench street youth in a lifestyle of "deviance and chronic offending." The authors intertwine the concepts of strain, control, embeddedness, criminal capital and labeling within a "social capital theory of crime."

Halldorson Jackson, L. (1998). Voices from the shadows: Canadian children and youth speak out about their lives as street sex trade workers. *Out From the Shadows: International Summit of Sexually Exploited Youth Project.* Canada: National Summary.

This document summarizes testimony gathered through national consultations with sexually exploited street youth. Facilitated by former youth sex trade workers, consultations were held in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria. Reflecting the voices of youth, the document outlines major themes, profiles and recommendations that emerged during the process. The consultations reveal a variety of youth experiences prior to their involvement in prostitution, which included physical, emotional, and/or sexual abuse (by a family member or someone outside immediate family), frequent rejection based on race, appearance or sexual orientation, and issues associated with drug addiction, teen pregnancy and low self esteem. Many youth expressed outrage with the lack of enforcement of legislation prohibiting the sexual exploitation of youth. The document includes several recommendations that emphasize prevention, education and support programs to prevent youth from becoming involved in prostitution, and risk management initiatives for children and youth currently involved in the sex trade.

Hanson, R. K. (1990). The psychological impact of sexual assault on women and children: A review. *Annals of Sex Research, 3,* 187-232.

This document reviews the available empirical literature on the psychological impact of sexual assault on women and children. The evidence suggests that adult female rape victims present high levels of distress immediately following an assault, a symptom commonly associated with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Stress levels appear to subside in the months and years following the assault. Child victims of sexual abuse do not as closely exhibit PTSD symptoms. Evidence suggest a link between sexual abuse and long-term negative adjustment, however initial

assessments following a sexual assault indicate that small numbers of child victims experience few "adjustment problems." The document also outlines factors related to the negative psychological impact of sexual assault.

Hardman, K. (1997). A social work group for prostitutes women with children. *Social Work with Groups, 20*(1), 19-31.

This article describes an advice- and skills-based social work group for prostitute women with children. Developed in London, England, the 10-week program was designed by a social worker, in conjunction with the prostitutes who participated in the group (N=23). Relying on feminist theory, the program aims to empower women to exit prostitution. Among other things, the program focuses on "benefits and welfare, parenting skills, health care, housing, counseling and therapy resources, and education." Upon completing the program, less than 50% (nine women) decided to stop prostituting. However, all participants "registered with the local health clinic." The author also discusses case studies of prostitutes and participant feedback.

Harvey, G. (1992). *Prostitution...A Matter of Choice?* Unpublished master's thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

Prostitution flourishes within a capitalist and patriarchal social structure. With few options for survival, some women enter the sex trade as a means of subsistence. This independent inquiry examines the connection between female prostitution and poverty, choice and female sexuality. The author conceptualizes prostitution as a coping mechanism for women who are victimized by abject poverty and sexual abuse. The paper focuses on four major themes: 1) external environmental forces related to prostitution; 2) the failure of political ideologies to account for the experiences of women on the street; 3) the relationship between prostitution and poverty, capitalism, patriarchy, racism, emotional abuse and physical and sexual abuse; and 4) the quasi-legal status of prostitution. The author argues that prostitutes are victimized before they run away from home, and they are re-victimized by society's response to their involvement in the sex trade. The paper concludes with a series of recommendations to end the victimization of women involved in prostitution and provide them with alternative life choices (e.g., decriminalization, exit and counseling services, housing, education and job skills training).

Hermann, K.J. (1987). Children sexually exploited for profit: A plea for a new social work priority. *Social Work,* 523-525.

The social work industry has failed to develop a concerted effort to confront the incidence of child pornography, child prostitution, and trafficking of children for sexual purposes. The author of this article provides information on child sexual exploitation, with the goal of encouraging social workers to address the victimization experienced by this population. In addition to discussing the definition of child sexual exploitation and estimating the number of sexually exploited youth worldwide, the author provides case examples of the commercial sexual exploitation of youth. The author concludes by challenging the social work profession to live up to its professional values and principles by combating the sexual exploitation of youth.

Hornick, J.P., & Bolitho, F. (1992). *A review of the implementation of the child sexual abuse legislation in selected sites: Studies on the sexual abuse of children in Canada*. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

In response to the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report, 1984) the federal government introduced Bill C-15, *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code and the Canada Evidence Act* to confront the issue of child sexual abuse. Bill C-15 included a mandatory evaluation to be conducted four years after its introduction. Studies conducted throughout Canada were mandated to outline the relationship between the child welfare system and the criminal justice system with respect to child sexual abuse, examine the experiences of child victims/witnesses of sexual abuse cases, and ascertain whether the goals and objectives of Bill C-15 were being achieved. This document overviews and compares studies conducted in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario. The report indicates that legislation prohibiting the sexual procurement of youth has not been effective in confronting juvenile prostitution. Overall, the substantive and procedural components of Bill C-15 are providing better protection to sexually abused youth, and are contributing to "successful prosecution" of child sexual abuse cases.

Hwang, S.L. (1995). *Agents, victims or deviants? Female prostitution in Taiwan*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison.

This research studies the situational and ideological factors contributing to a female's (both women and girls) decision to prostitute, and the consequences of prostitution in Taiwan. Data was obtained through participant observation and in-depth interviews with 57 prostitutes during 1991 and 1992. The data reveal that class, ethnicity, and gender variables intertwine with issues of family disruption, sexual and physical abuse, and poverty and school problems to influence a girl's decision to prostitute. Adult prostitutes were less likely to have experienced dysfunctional family settings and childhood abuse; their decision to prostitute was more frequently associated with single motherhood and a desire for "upward economic mobility." The author suggests that age, motivation for entering prostitution, and previous abuse impacts upon a prostitute's lifestyle ("normal" versus "deviant") and their ability to deal with social stigma and work-related stress.

Inciardi, J. (1984). Little girls and sex: A glimpse at the world of the 'Baby Pro'. *Deviant Behaviour, 5*, 77-78.

There is limited research on children under the age of 12 who are involved in prostitution. The impetus for this study stemmed from concern with substance abuse among youths. The research process uncovered nine children (ages 8 to 12) who acknowledged involvement in prostitution. These youth were introduced into prostitution by relatives, not through a process associated with running away. The subjects' initiation into sex was not associated with drugs, however it appears to be "motivated by a fear of rejection." Further, their early sexual experiences did not seem to produce traumatic effects.

Inciardi, J. (1989). Trading sex for crack among juvenile drug users: A research note. *Contemporary Drug Problems, 16*, 689-700.

The author interviewed 27 females who traded sex for crack. The participants were asked to describe their "criminal activities, drug use and experience with prostitution." The data suggest respondents were involved in sex for crack and prostitution to earn money to buy crack. The author also indicates that respondents have a prolonged and intense history of substance abuse and involvement in crime.

Inciardi, J., Pottieger, A., Forney, M., Chitwood, D., & McBride, D. (1991). Prostitution, IV drug use, and sex-for-crack exchanges among serious delinquents: Risks for HIV infection. *Criminology, 29*, 221-235.

Since the early 1980s, concern has surfaced with the risk of HIV and AIDS infection among intravenous drug users. Recent evidence suggests that inner city minorities and youth involved in high-risk activities (i.e., multiple sex partners and injecting drugs) are contracting HIV at an increasing rate. Researchers for this study conducted in-person interviews with 611 "seriously delinquent" males and females between the ages of 12 to 17. Informal follow-up interviews were conducted with 50 respondents. Participants were asked questions concerning their participation in prostitution, drug use, and sex-for-crack experiences. The results indicate that a large percentage of respondents were found to be involved in these HIV-risk activities (these "risk behaviours" appear to be commonplace among inner city "adolescent groups"). The data also reveal that many youth have not received adequate assistance from community agencies. The authors recommend special AIDS prevention/intervention programs, and drug treatment to combat HIV infection among adolescents.

Jackson, L., & Highcrest, A. (1996). Female prostitutes in North America: What are their risks of HIV infection? In L. Sherr, C. Hankins, & L. Bennett (Eds.), *AIDS as a Gender Issue Psychological Perspectives*. London: Taylor and Francis Publishers.

This article examines the potential risk of HIV-infection among female prostitutes, "within the context of their working and private lives." The authors describe three styles of prostitution: street prostitutes, escorts, and part-time prostitutes working within the service sector (e.g., bars, massage parlours). A majority of the HIV-related initiatives and programs cater to street prostitutes, while ignoring other women involved in the sex trade. The authors argue that risk of HIV infection varies according to the "type of prostitution and the social organization of sex work." Research indicates that HIV infection among non-drug using prostitutes is relatively low. It appears that prostitutes are more at risk of HIV infection in their private lives than while they are working (they are at risk of HIV through

unprotected sexual contact with their partners, many of whom have additional sexual partners). In this respect, more attention must be given to preventing HIV infection in the context of women sex trade workers' private lives.

Jackson, L., Highcrest, A., & Coats, R.A. (1992). Varied potential risks of HIV infection among prostitutes. *Social Science Medicine, 35*(3), 281-286.

Current research indicates that HIV infection among non-drug using prostitutes is "absent or low." Nevertheless, it is essential to provided HIV-related intervention and prevention programs to prostitutes. A majority of the available HIV-related initiatives and programs cater to street prostitutes, while ignoring a variety of other women involved in the sex trade (researchers have focused on the most visible sector of the sex trade - the street trade). However, the authors argue that participation in prostitution extends beyond the street trade into various off-street locales. The authors categorize prostitutes into three different groups: street prostitutes, escorts, and part-time prostitutes working within the service sector, i.e., those working in bars, massage parlours, etc. Rates of infection may vary "depending on the type of prostitution," and prevention programs must therefore account for these different HIV-risk situations. The authors conclude that prevention and education programs must be accompanied by attempts to address the social and economic forces that contribute to "high risk activities among all prostitutes."

James, J., & Meyerding, J. (1977). Early sexual experience as a factor in prostitution. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour, 7*, 31-42.

This article compares early sexual experiences of prostitutes and non-prostitutes, with particular focus on traumatic sexual experiences such as incest and rape. Literature on early sexual experiences of non-prostitutes is compared with two studies on "sexual histories of prostitutes" (both studies were conducted by James, 1970-1971 and 1974-1975). Prostitutes were more likely to learn about sex through personal experiences, not through parental education. Prostitutes were more likely to have experienced sexual advances by adults during childhood, and they were more often victims of incest and rape. Further, prostitutes "initiated sexual activity at a younger age," and failed to keep contact with their first sexual partner following intercourse. The authors suggest that an "abusive sexual self-identity" factors into some women's decision to prostitute: "It seems possible ... that to be used sexually at an early age in a way that produces guilt, shame, and loss of self-esteem on the part of the victim would be likely to lesson one's resistance to viewing oneself as a saleable commodity."

Janus, M, Burgess, A.W., & McCormack, A. (1987). Histories of sexual abuse in adolescent male runaways *Adolescence, 22*, 405-417.

This study examines the sexual case histories of 89 Canadian male runaways (15 to 20 years of age). The authors analyze interviews on physical and sexual victimization, family history and socio-economic status, "delinquent and criminal activities," and factors contributing to the decision to runaway from home. The data reveal that male runaways experienced a higher incidence of sexual and physical abuse than "randomly sampled populations." As confirmed in the runaway literature, sexually abused and non-sexually abused runaways share several characteristics: family difficulties, high levels of delinquency, depression, tension, low self-image, and a history of physical abuse. The reaction of sexually abused male runaways to their "runaway event" is characterized by "highly avoidant patterns coupled with extreme withdrawal from all types of interpersonal relationships," a behaviour commonly exhibited by victims of sexual abuse. The authors recommend treatment initiatives for shelters that deal with sexually abused runaways, and they offer suggestions for further research (e.g., examine the frequency of childhood sexual abuse, the relationship between victim and offender and the differences between sexually abused males who ran away and those who did not).

Jarvinen, M. (1993). *Of vice and women: Shades of prostitution.* Universitietsforlaget.

Before the early 1980s, prostitution was not considered an issue of great concern for authorities in Helsinki, Finland. "In 1984, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs published a short report on prostitution where the conclusion was reached that commercialized sex did not constitute a widespread social problem." (The *Vagrancy Act* was subsequently repealed in cases where prostitution was deemed "small-scale" and non-problematic. The author suggests the repeal has had little impact on the prevalence of the sex trade.) However, in this book the author uncovers two periods in Finnish history when issues associated with prostitution were treated seriously: the

beginning of the 1900s, and in the 1950s and 1960s issues associated with youth prostitution commanded attention. Relying on official (police) data, Jarvinen illustrates how prostitution is a socially constructed phenomenon. "Commercialized sex is a direct reflection of the gender structure in our society. The transactions between the prostitute and their customers do not qualitatively deviate from 'normal' and accepted heterosexual relations." The author argues that prostitution laws historically served to control prostitutes in specific and women in general.

Jesson, J. (1993). Understanding adolescent female prostitution: A literature review. *British Journal of Social Work 23*, 517-530.

Social workers are spending an increasing amount of time with youth who have been sexually abused and youth involved in prostitution. As a result, childcare workers need to understand relevant dynamics to offer advice on safe sex and personal protection. The author of this report conducts a literature review on adolescent prostitution for a social service department. A variety of explanations for youth involvement in prostitution are discussed, ranging from pathological and psychological factors to discussions of broader social aspects. The author concludes there is a relative scarcity of British research on adolescent prostitution, and no research focusing on youth in care and prostitution. More research is needed to inform social service practitioners in the development of policies and strategies for responding to adolescent prostitution.

Jiwani, Y., & Brown, S. (1999). *Trafficking and sexual exploitation of girls and young women: A review of select literature and initiatives.* Feminist Research, Education, Development and Action Centre (FREDA).

Various international efforts by non-governmental organizations and lobby groups have increased awareness of the sexual exploitation of young women. This report examines the issue of sexual exploitation of young women and girls within an international context. The authors outline factors that contribute to the vulnerability of women and girls to sexual exploitation and abuse, including poverty, violence, and the devaluation of women and girls. As the authors note, the World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children identified the following factors contributing to sexual exploitation: "economic disparities, inequitable socio-economic structures, dysfunctioning families, lack of education, growing consumerism, urban-rural migration, gender discrimination, irresponsible male sexual behavior, harmful traditional practices, armed conflicts and trafficking of children." The Canadian literature highlights three categories of women and girls who are vulnerable to trafficking and child sexual exploitation: trafficking within the international sex trade; the exploitation of migrant workers; and the importation of "girls and women as mail order brides." The authors argue it is important to provide those who want to exit prostitution with the necessary support and services. Many youth who are sexually exploited and trafficked are runaways or "throwaways who turn to street prostitution as a way of survival." Many street youth have few employment, educational and residential prospects; therefore, prostitution becomes a means of subsistence. Suggestions for further research include studies of effective youth employment strategies, assessments of gender-specific and non-judgmental services, and the implementation of "anti-violence, anti-sexist and anti-racist programs in schools."

Johnson, T. (1996). Self-reported risk factors for AIDS among homeless youth. *AIDS Education Prevention, 8*, 308-322.

This study examines HIV risk behaviours in homeless youth in Chicago. One hundred ninety-six interviews with homeless youth were conducted in ten shelters and five street locations to gather self-reported behaviours on factors associated with HIV risk activities. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents acknowledged at least one of the following risk factors: "multiple sex partners; high-risk partners; inconsistent condom use; history of sexually transmitted disease; anal sex; prostitution; and/or intravenous drug use." Participation in these high-risk activities was associated with "being male, having unmet personal needs, being interviewed in street locations, and having a history of sexual abuse." The authors suggest several initiatives to reduce participation in HIV risk activities: reduce the need for youth to participate in "illicit activities" for income; take steps to provide basic needs; educate youth about existing services; and, provide programs to reduce and prevent childhood sexual abuse.

Joseph, C. (1995). Scarlet wounding: Issues of child prostitution. ***Journal of Psychohistory, 23,*** 2-17.

The author wants to raise awareness of child prostitution by discussing her personal involvement in the trade, relevant issues associated with child prostitution, and historical information. In addition to documenting her experience in the "club scene" (establishments that use children as prostitutes), the author reviews the incidence of child prostitution, sex tourism, child pornography, and "sex rings and cults." The history of child prostitution, from Babylonian prostitution to Victorian times is also discussed. The author concludes that child prostitution is a "deeply troubling human problem" that must be addressed through "compassion and protection" for children.

Kanouse, D., Berry, S., Duan, N., Lever, J., Carson, S., Perlman, J., & Levitan, B. (1999). Drawing a probability sample of female street prostitutes in Los Angeles county. ***The Journal of Sex Research, 36***(1), 45-51.

Previous research on street prostitution provides inaccurate data concerning the size of this population. The illicit nature of street prostitution and the transient nature of the population make it difficult to obtain accurate research samples. This article describes the "methods that were used to construct the sampling frame and to sample and conduct field interviews with street prostitutes." In addition, the article provides information on behaviors that increase a sex worker's likelihood of contracting a sexually transmitted disease (e.g., sexual activity, drug injection and sexual relations with men who inject drugs). A two-stage sampling approach was used to sample locations and time slots, then to sample eligible people at identified locations and times. For 36 weeks, field teams randomly selected women on the street in predefined areas, according to a sampling unit (area-day-shift). Eligible subjects were interviewed and asked to provide a blood sample. A total of 998 street prostitutes were recruited and interviewed. Eighty-five percent agreed to provide blood samples (results of the blood samples were not discussed in this paper). Among the results, only 2% of the women interviewed were less than 18 years old (however, the authors suggest some may not have wanted to admit being underage); more than 80% of the respondents were minority (mainly Black or Hispanic). Limitations of the study include an unrepresentative target population (many women claimed no involvement in the sex trade), and to ensure the security of the researchers, the interview teams did not enter certain area-day-shifts that were considered too dangerous. Overall, the authors suggest that a "spatial-temporal sampling frame can be constructed and field sampling techniques used to draw a probability sample of female street prostitutes."

Kruks, G. (1991). Gay and lesbian homeless/street youth: Special issues and concerns. ***Journal of Adolescent Health, 12,*** 515-518.

Focusing on the experiences of gay-, lesbian and bisexual-identified youth, this study discusses homeless and runaway youth by examining information collected through a "consortium of agencies." The data reveal that gay and bisexual youth appear to be disproportionally vulnerable to homelessness and suicide. Gay male street youth may have run away from home due to anti-homosexual sentiments in their family setting, and in comparison to heterosexual homeless males, they are more likely to be involved in prostitution as a means of subsistence. One sample revealed that 53% of gay-identified street youth had attempted suicide, while 32% of a group of gay and non-gay street youth reported suicide attempts. The author concludes that factors of prejudice, discrimination, and homophobia contribute to a matrix of problems experienced by the "young person who is gay."

Lau, E. (1989). ***Runaway: Diary of a street kid.*** Toronto: Harper and Collins.

The author chronicles her experiences as a runaway living on the streets of Vancouver, B.C., developed through her diary entries, both while she was at home and during the first two years after she ran away. The book documents the conflict and pains the author experienced at home (i.e., an over-controlling family environment), and her subsequent decision to runaway to the streets. Once on the streets, the author describes the process of becoming involved in prostitution and her progressive use of substances to emotionally escape her life circumstances. The book also shares the struggle to leave/exit the streets and the difficulty attempting to re-integrate into mainstream society.

LeBlanc, S.L. (1997). ***Consistent and persistent: A necessary approach to children involved in prostitution.*** B.C.

In Prince George, British Columbia, there are approximately 45 youth involved in prostitution, and a further "100 to 200 children who are at risk of becoming involved with the street." In response to concerns about youth involvement in the sex trade, the Community Planning council instructed the author of this report to identify solutions to address the sexual exploitation of youth. The report focuses on three issues: 1) review the problem of youth prostitution in Prince George; 2) overview reports produced by the Ministry of the Attorney General of British Columbia, the province of Alberta, and a Vancouver service agency; 3) review information gathered from service providers in Prince George. The author notes that youth involvement in prostitution is "serious and should be treated as a form of child abuse." In addition, the report indicates that more needs to be done to arrest customers and pimps of young prostitutes, and that better social, education, housing and health services are needed to help prevent the sexual exploitation of youth. Service providers advocated a multi-pronged approach to combat the youth sex trade (e.g., greater enforcement of s.212(4), more social services, and proactive education/prevention initiatives).

Lee, M. & O'Brien, R. (1995). ***The game's up: Redefining child prostitution.*** London: The Children's Society.

This report examines inappropriate and appropriate responses to the sexual exploitation of children and youth in England and Wales. The authors attempt to raise awareness of this phenomenon, and they encourage further analysis of the factors that contribute to youth involvement in prostitution.

Lines, L. (1998). ***Toronto roundtable on prostitution involving children and youth: Recommendation for action to end commercialised child sex abuse.*** Mimeo.

On February 11, 1997, the "Toronto Board of Health requested that the Medical Officer of Health, in consultation with the Metropolitan Toronto Police Juvenile Squad, other appropriate social service agencies and the Toronto Board of Education, report on the prevention of prostitution involving children and youth, and the existing situation." Several key stakeholders were assembled through three, three-hour roundtable discussions to "assess the current situation in regard to children and youth involved in prostitution and suggest appropriate advocacy initiatives." The participants discussed the following issues: legal definitions and regulatory approaches, provincial policy and practice, interventions and outcomes, and prevention – home, school and community. Recommendations included: youth prostitution be defined as "commercialised child sex abuse," young prostitutes be treated a victims of sexual abuse; the province increase its prevention funding; and a media awareness campaign to "raise community awareness regarding commercialised sex abuse." The report includes a protocol regarding the provision of services to homeless and runaway youth under the age of 16. The author suggests there are a myriad of reasons why some youth runaway or are thrown away from home. "The history of most street youth seen today tends to indicate family discord, neglect and/or abuse as significant contributions" to runaway behaviour. "Many researchers cite a correlation between sexual abuse and running away, particularly among youth engaged in prostitution, while disclosure to parents of a lesbian or gay youth identity has been found to place a young person at high risk for rejection and abuse by family members." Categories of street youth (e.g., absconders from Children's Aid Society care or custody under the young offenders act, Aboriginal youth and lesbian, gay and bisexual youth) and characteristics of street youth (e.g., lack of education and employment skills, and a history of transience) are also discussed. The report is a tool for agencies, institutions, and governments responsible for addressing the "commercialised sexual abuse of children and youth."

Longres, J. (1987). The use of survey methods in research parents of adjudicated teenage prostitutes. ***Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 14,*** 65-86.

Most research on family dynamics as a factor in the drift into juvenile prostitution has used interviews with prostitutes to collect information. This research has two goals: study the parents of adolescent prostitutes, and describe the challenges in using survey methods with a "difficult and hard to reach population." The authors attempted to interview families of 75 young women who completed a project for female prostitutes at a major urban juvenile court (33 families agreed to participate). It was difficult to contact the respondents due to the often estranged relationship between the parents and the youth. Guidelines based on "clinical experiences with resistant families" were developed to maximize participation in the study (e.g., persist in contacting the parents before the interview, ensure confidentiality, reassure the parents know the research is for knowledge purposes). The process indicates that survey methods administered with certain precautions is a valuable tool for gathering data from

parents of teenage prostitutes. A 68% return rate was observed when data collection guidelines recommended by service outreach workers were followed. It appears that "a significant percentage" of parents of young prostitutes are willing to participate in family-focused services to help their children.

Longres, J. (1991). An ecological study of adjudicated female teenage prostitutes. *Journal of Social Service Research, 14*, 113-127.

This paper describes family history information from the perspective of parents of young prostitutes, and it recommends family-oriented services. The author uses an ecological perspective that identifies conflict between parents and their "social and physical environment" as an analytical tool. A survey of structured questions is administered to 33 parents of "adjudicated teenage prostitutes." The data suggest that parents exhibit stress that is linked to a "history of failed intimate relationships and economic marginality." Further, girls grew up in neighborhoods that provided a relatively easy transition into a prostitution career. The author recommends services to "rehabilitate families and prevent further involvement in prostitution."

Lowman, J. (1985/86). Prostitution in Canada. *Resources for Feminist Research, 13*(4) 35-37.

This paper provides a "capsule summary" of the results of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Committee) and the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Committee, 1985). The document highlights six themes that emerge from both reports: styles of prostitution, characteristics of prostitutes, customers, pimps, law enforcement activities, and available social services. Among other things, the author notes that most prostitutes experience a negative childhood home life, possess few education or job-related skills, and enter the sex trade as juveniles. The author also notes how customers have been virtually immune from prostitution-related law enforcement efforts.

Lowman, J. (1986). You can do it, but don't do it here: Some comments on proposals for the reform of Canadian prostitution law. In J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys, & S. Gavigan (Eds.), *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports*. Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University.

Growing concern with youth involvement in the sex trade led to the addition of prostitution to the mandate of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report). In this paper, Lowman criticizes the Badgley Committee for recommending the enactment of *Criminal Code* legislation to control juvenile prostitutes. The author problematizes the Badgley Committee's conclusion that young prostitutes do not appear to experience more sexual abuse while growing up than other Canadians. In addition, the Report is criticized for treating problems faced by young prostitutes as "something they bring upon themselves." In the process, the Committee individualizes the issue by ignoring the "structural context of youth prostitution." In general, the author asserts the Badgley Committee provides an inadequate analysis of how some youth become involved in prostitution after running away from an intolerable home-life (due to sexual and physical abuse), and ending up on the streets with marginal employment opportunities. The author concludes that pursuing the recommendation to criminalize young prostitutes would "serve to entrench further the identity of prostitutes as criminals, rather than altering the social structures which makes street prostitution a logical means of subsistence for defamilied youth."

Lowman, J. (1987). Taking young prostitutes seriously. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 24*(1), 99-116.

In 1984, the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth recommended the enactment of legislation criminalizing children and youth who engage in prostitution as a means of preventing them from becoming entrenched in the sex trade. This paper challenges that conclusion by criticizing the Committee's theoretical framework and its interpretation of data on the characteristics of young prostitutes. Problems with the Committee's assertion that juvenile prostitutes do not experience more sexual abuse as children than do other Canadian youth are outlined. The author argues the Badgley Committee pathologized young prostitutes, thereby decontextualizing the decision to become involved in prostitution. Lowman advocates short-term strategies to reduce youth prostitution, accompanied by long-term initiatives that challenge male sexual socialization and youth unemployment.

Lowman, J. (1988). Street prostitution. In V. Sacco (Ed.), *Deviance conformity and control in canadian society* (2nd ed.). Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Canada Inc.

A variety of religious and moral values, coupled with "beliefs about human sexuality" have helped construct societal responses to the female prostitute. This paper examines the sociology of prostitution by reviewing the gender dynamics of the sex trade, the decision to prostitute and purchase sexual services, social reactions to prostitution, and the relationship between responses to prostitution and the organization of the street trade. Biographical information on prostitution suggests that many youth ran away (or were thrown away) from a home life they described as intolerable, and once on the streets prostitution became a viable means of subsistence. In addition, the author outlines various theoretical explanations of the gender dimensions of prostitution, ranging from biological accounts to feminist perspectives. The author argues that prostitution "arises from a gender based power structure" that contributes to the situational poverty of youth involved in prostitution and the male demand for sexual services.

Lowman, J. (1991a). Punishing prostitutes and their customers: The legacy of the Badgley Committee, the Fraser Committee and Bill C 49. In L. Samuelson, & B. Schissel (Eds.), *Criminal justice: Sentencing issues and reform.* Toronto, Ontario: Garamond Press.

In 1985, the federal government introduced legislation that criminalized communicating for the purpose of prostitution (the communicating law). Then, in 1988 a new law was enacted to criminalize customers of youth and increase penalties for persons living on the avails of young prostitutes. In this paper, the author examines "patterns of enforcement of these new laws, and the response of the judiciary to offenders." The paper focuses primarily on the communicating law; however, there is some discussion about the enforcement of legislation aimed at customers of youth (section 212(4)). The author argues that a lack of s.212(4) charges (only two charges in Vancouver during the first two years after its enactment) is an indication of societal priorities regarding youth prostitution, especially when considering the vigorous enforcement of the communicating law after it was introduced (110 youth were charged with communicating during the first two years after its introduction). The author argues: "in terms of the legal response to youth prostitution, it is the youths themselves who are the main object of law enforcement in Vancouver."

Lowman, J. (1991b). Prostitution in Canada. In M.A. Jackson, & C.T. Griffiths (Eds.), *Canadian criminology: Perspectives on crime and criminality.* Canada: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

This paper uses various sources, including state-sponsored research and information papers, to discuss the phenomenon of prostitution in Canada. In addition to reviewing the history of prostitution and prostitution-related legislation and law enforcement, the author profiles contemporary prostitutes and their clients. Research indicates that running away at a young age from a sexually, physically and emotionally abusive home (including state homes) environment often precedes entry into the sex trade. Research also states that men of all ages buy sex, and there are various reasons why some men visit prostitutes (ranging from curiosity, to the desire for a "brief uncomplicated sexual encounter"). A critique of the Badgley Committee's data concerning childhood sexual abuse of prostitutes, and comments about the Badgley and Fraser Committees' theoretical perspectives is outlined. Both Committees are criticized for failing to contend with "structural factors such as unemployment, gender inequalities, and male sexual socialization – all factors that help to generate prostitution." Questions are raised about the lack of charges against customers who sexually exploit young prostitutes.

Lowman, J. (1991c). Street prostitutes in Canada: An evaluation of the Brannigan-Fleischman opportunity model. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 6*, 137-164.

In their article on juvenile prostitution, Brannigan and Fleischman (1987) argue that prostitution is mainly an adult endeavor motivated by financial gain, not "pathological work undertaken by the emotionally damaged and the young." Relying on an alternative interpretation of the empirical data on youth prostitution, this article challenges Brannigan and Fleischman's position. First, the author asserts that although most street prostitutes are adults, a majority entered the sex trade before the age of 18. Further, compared to non-prostitutes, prostitutes experienced more physical and sexual abuse as children. Finally, the author criticizes Brannigan and Fleischman for decontextualizing the decision to prostitute (i.e., ignoring the structural factors that help to generate prostitution). The author concludes by advocating a socio-legal approach that considers socio-structural analyses and the social psychology of youth involvement in prostitution.

Lowman, J. (1997). ***Prostitution law reform in Canada.*** **To be published in an anthology celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Institute of Comparative Law in Japan, Chuo University. Edited by T. Shiibashi, forthcoming.**

This paper is a follow-up to a previous article that discussed the events preceding the enactment of the communicating law in December 1985. Considering the experience of the communicating law, and the enactment of legislation prohibiting the sexual procurement of youth, the author examines the impact of interest group activity on prostitution law reform and law enforcement practice. Lowman argues the communicating law creates a quasi-legal milieu, whereby many prostitutes are forced to ply their trade in violent and dangerous locales. In addition, laws that provide increased sentences for procuring and living on the avails of youth, and legislation that criminalize purchasing, or attempting to purchase the sexual services of someone under the age of 18 are rarely enforced. However, law enforcement officials have started to focus on the actions of male customers. The author urges the development of long term strategies that address the conditions producing prostitution, accompanied by short term policies that prevent the sexual procurement of youth, address the public nuisance associated with prostitution, and focus on harm reduction for women who prostitute.

Lowman, J. (2000). Victims and the Outlaw Status of (Street) Prostitution in Canada. ***Violence against women: An international and interdisciplinary journal, 6***(9).

Data from the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics reveal that 86 prostitutes were murdered in Canada from 1992 through 1998. In this article, Lowman "constructs a profile of murders of sex workers in British Columbia from 1964 to 1998." The author argues that media accounts of the "get rid of prostitutes" activities that were initiated by politicians, police and residents' groups during the 1980s contributed to a "sharp increase in the murders of prostitutes after 1980." In addition to profiling murders of prostitutes in British Columbia (e.g., 32 murders from 1992 to 1998, that the clearance rate for cases involving murders of prostitutes is 34%, compared to a clearance rate for non-prostitutes that ranges from 77% to 85%), the author describes how campaigns to remove street prostitution from certain areas of the city contributed to a "social milieu in which violence against prostitutes could flourish." During the mid-1980s, several politicians and community groups in Vancouver campaigned to have street prostitution removed from certain areas of the city, with no regard for where it would relocate. As a result, many prostitutes were forced to ply their trade in more dangerous and secluded areas of the city (which is compounded by a system of quasicriminalization in the *Criminal Code*). Lowman argues that there are two forms of violence against prostitutes: situational (violence that occurs during the "course of a transaction") and predatory (premeditated violence). However, this violence must be understood as part of a "continuum of violence against women more generally." The author concludes that the "prohibition and stigmatization of prostitution are the main obstacles to creating safer working conditions for prostitutes," and that politicians must decide where prostitutes and their clients can conduct their business. The need for preventing youth from entering the sex trade and the importance of addressing the socio-structural conditions that makes prostitution a choice for some women (e.g., the mistreatment of Aboriginal peoples, the feminization of poverty, youth sexual exploitation and addiction) are also discussed.

Lowman, J., Atchison, C., & Fraser, L. (1996). ***Men who buy sex, Phase I report.*** **B.C.: Ministry of the Attorney General.**

Discussion and analysis of customers who purchase sexual services from prostitutes is a conspicuous gap in prostitution-related research. This scarcity of research on the demand aspect of the trade is related to a lack of institutional records providing information on the client, and a general belief that customers are hesitant to talk to researchers. This research uses various methods and sources to gain information on men who buy sex from prostitutes. The research components include: a literature review; questionnaires administered on the Internet and to men who buy sex; interviews with customers in Vancouver; an analysis of "bad date sheets;" and a survey of court files of men in Vancouver charged under the communicating law (s.213 of the *Criminal Code*). The research is divided into two phases; phase 1 (this report) includes the literature review, an analysis of "bad date sheets," and results from the court file survey. Phase two will present the results of the questionnaires and qualitative interviews. Among other things, the court file survey reveals that the average age of clients sampled was 34 years, a majority were Canadian citizens, most worked in blue-collar occupations, and a majority was Caucasian. One hundred and fifty incidents reported from "bad date sheets" (November 1994 to December 1995) are discussed.

Lowman, J., & Fraser, L. (1996). *Violence against persons who prostitutes: The experience in British Columbia.* Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.

This study is part of a series of evaluations sponsored by the Department of Justice Canada that examine the incidence of violence against prostitutes prior to and following the introduction of Bill C-49 (the communicating law). Focusing on B.C., the authors use multiple methods and sources to describe violence against "persons who prostitute," characteristics of offenders, and initiatives to prevent violence against prostitutes. The composite data reveal 67 homicides of prostitutes in British Columbia since 1978 (60 since 1982). The newspaper analysis of homicides indicates that victims ranged from age 15 to 41 and that four youth (under 18 years of age) were murdered between 1974 and 1994. The authors note: "preliminary analysis suggests that women known to have been involved in street prostitution are murdered at a rate somewhere in the region of sixty to one hundred and twenty times the rate at which non-prostitute women are murdered." The authors identify an indirect link between enforcement of the communicating law and violence against women involved in prostitution: prostitutes are vulnerable to "predatory misogynist violence" because they are forced to work in more secluded locations to avoid detection by authorities.

Lowman, J., Jackson, M., Palys,T., & Gavigan, S. (Eds.). (1986). *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports.* Burnaby: Simon Fraser University.

Considerable public and academic scrutiny followed the Report of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Report) and the Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report). In this collection of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser Reports, the editors attempt to assemble "representative, articulate and informed commentaries" to promote discussions about both reports. In addition to the Federal Government's response to Badgley and Fraser Reports, the text includes several articles that focus specifically on the Badgley Report (and youth prostitution): 1) Norma McCormick reviews criticisms of the Badgley Report through her experience as a Badgley Committee member 2) Barbara Appleford highlights the response of the Canadian Psychological Association to the Badgley and Fraser Reports 3) Andy Wachtel examines the Badgley Report in terms of three major themes: the discovery of child sexual abuse as a social problem, the Report's child centred perspective, and the Committee's "ambivalence about children and sexuality" 4) Lorenne Clark criticizes the Badgley Report for its paternalistic tone, and its inability to acknowledge that child sexual abuse is related to our patriarchal social structure 5) Deborah Brock and Gary Kinsman focus on the Badgley Committee's avoidance of patriarchal relations that contribute to sexual offences against children and youth 6) Terry Sullivan argues the Badgley Committee ignores broader social and economic conditions that make prostitution a choice for some youth, and he documents the "professionalization of service delivery" 7) John Lowman criticizes the Badgley Report for recommending the enactment of legislation to control juvenile prostitutes.

Lundy, C., & Totten, M. (1997). Youth on the fault line. *Social Worker, 65*(3), 98-106.

Over the past several years there has been an increase in the levels of unemployment and poverty, coupled with a reduction in social assistance and social programs. These ongoing economic and social changes have negatively impacted disadvantaged youth, "an already vulnerable and marginalized population." This study examines the effects of unemployment, poverty, and the "reduction of social problems and social assistance" on marginalized youth and their daily lives. The authors administered questionnaires to 606 youths (ages 12-20) who were in contact with the Youth Services Bureau of Ottawa-Carleton. The findings indicate that many disadvantaged youths will become involved in prostitution, panhandling, alcohol/drug abuse, and gang activities to meet their needs. In addition, many respondents experienced violence in their "day-to-day lives" (as perpetrators and victims). Most youth continued to pursue "education and employment," despite their life circumstances. The authors argue that many respondents are at high risk (described as youth on the fault line), and without adequate social and economic support strategies "it is only a matter of time before they are beyond our reach."

MacVicar, K., & Dillon, M. (1980). Childhood and adolescent development of ten female prostitutes. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 19*, 145-159.

This study examines ten adolescent and young adult female prostitutes who were evaluated by a psychiatrist in "weekly or twice weekly psychotherapy over a period of five months to 3 1/2 years" (three respondents had schizophrenic psychoses, and the remaining seven had "borderline character structures"). Psychotic adolescents were involved in prostitution at the height of psychosis and were motivated by a desire to maintain some form of object relationships (to avoid being overtaken by an "objectless state"). Adolescents who exhibited borderline characteristic structures revealed a chaotic family history, and their world contained a severe split between the self and object, images of good and bad were distinct, and pimps were associated with the all-good images and customers with the all-bad. Most respondents exhibited depersonalization traits as a form of "primitive denial." The authors note high rates of attempted suicide among the subjects.

Madsen, C., & Moss, C. (1996). *Being Aware, Taking Care.* Information Guide for Parents, Counselors, Youth Agencies, Teachers and Police addressing the dangers of street life and exploitation of youth in the sex trade. British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General.

Compiled in Vancouver, B.C., this prevention guide is a resource for anyone concerned with youth-at-risk of becoming involved in prostitution. Information was gathered through questionnaires, focus groups and individual interviews administered to parents of youth prostitutes, police officers, youth services providers and youth who have been involved in prostitution. The guide highlights early warning signs for youth at risk of becoming involved in prostitution, including tips on pimp or recruiter-related activities. The guide encourages parents to evaluate factors at home that would increase their child's vulnerability to being recruited into prostitution. The guide also outlines strategies of intervention - what to do and who to contact - once a youth becomes involved in the sex trade. The authors suggest that increased awareness and understanding of the dynamics of youth prostitution will help young victims of sexual exploitation.

Mairo, R., Trupin, E., & James, J. (1983). Sex-role differentiation in a female delinquent population: Prostitution vs. control samples. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 53*, 345-352.

Research examining the relationship between "sex role development and psychological adjustment" primarily relies on "well adjusted" adult populations for subjects. This study provides an empirical investigation of sex-role differentiation by comparing juvenile prostitutes with a non-prostitute delinquent control group. One hundred seventy-nine subjects were chosen through the King County Youth Services in Seattle, U.S. Respondents were administered the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), a self-report scale that measures an individuals "identification with masculine and feminine traits." The data reveal that most subjects had an "androgynous or undifferentiated" sex role orientation. A relatively higher percentage of respondents appeared to deviate from "conventional sex-role orientation." In addition, there was a relationship between "masculine sex-role orientation" and a "relatively higher incidence of prostitution," previous research notes a relationship between "masculine traits" and "heterosexual precociousness" in females. Questions are raised concerning the assertion that a positive link exists between "androgyny and mental health" in both teenagers and clinical populations. The authors encourage further sex-role differentiation research with a wide range of "normal and clinical" populations.

Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat. (June 1996). *Report of the Working Group on Juvenile Prostitution.*

In June 1996, the Manitoba Child and Youth Secretariat released its Report of the Working Group on Juvenile Prostitution. The report includes issues and suggestions concerning the youth sex trade that were identified by working group members, parents of street involved children (including parents of juvenile prostitutes), and clients of the Training Employment Resources for Women (T.E.R.F., a support program for females between the ages of 15 to 18 who are attempting to exit prostitution). In addition, the report outlines a comprehensive deterrence strategy with several expected outcomes: decrease the involvement of youth in prostitution, list convicted procurers of young prostitutes on a child abuse registry (the Report advocates changes to provincial child welfare legislation so as to treat juvenile prostitution as child abuse), and decrease the incidence of STD and HIV among high-risk youth involved in prostitution. The Report estimates that approximately 600 youth are involved in street prostitution in Winnipeg, and that a minimum of 2,000 youth are involved in prostitution when accounting for the off-street trade. In addition to

discussing the antecedents of youth prostitution, the Report outlines several harm reduction strategies and programs for helping young prostitutes exit the sex trade.

Mansson, S-A., & Hedin, U. C. (1999). Breaking the Matthew Effect - On women leaving prostitution. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 8*, 67-77.

There is a lack of research examining the reasons why and how women breakaway from a life of prostitution. "The purpose of this paper is to report some empirical findings from a Swedish study of women leaving a life in the sex trade." Researchers interviewed 23 women between the ages of 20 and 58 years, who had left prostitution. The majority, 17 out of 23, had been involved in prostitution for a minimum of 5 years. Seventy-five percent of the women interviewed had experienced a difficult childhood including sexual abuse, emotionally negative parents and other types of social problems. The process of becoming involved with prostitution was influenced by previous destructive events, accompanied by feelings of low self-esteem. "Many of the women were labeled as "whores" early, often long before their actual entry into prostitution. Given such a perspective, the woman's debut into prostitution is often rather undramatic, even if the context in which it takes place can be quite chaotic." The authors suggest that some of the women exited prostitution following an important event or turning point, such as an eye opening experience, a traumatic event or a positive life experience. For others, the breakaway developed over time and, in a process that was often unconscious to the individual. Almost all of the respondents described the "period after their break with prostitution as a very difficult time." Challenges included working through and understanding the experiences of life in prostitution, dealing with the shame, living in a marginal situation, and dealing with intimate and close relationships. The authors argue that an individual's commitment to change plays an important role in the process of change - a process encouraged by a variety of interpsychological and interpersonal factors. "However, at the end of the day, it is important not to end up in too individualistic explanations. A person's creative and innovative capacities definitely depend on reliable social relations and institutions in her environment."

Markos, A., Wade, A. & Walzman, M. (1994). The adolescent male prostitute and sexually transmitted diseases, HIV and AIDS. *Journal of Adolescence, 17*, 123-130.

Studies on the backgrounds of male prostitutes provide important information on high-risk situational experiences, such as exposure to sexually transmitted disease and HIV infection. Important background variables include psychological, behavioral and social and economic factors. The high incidence of sexually transmitted diseases among teenage male prostitutes suggests a possible risk of HIV infection. Information on male teenagers strongly indicates there is no correlation between "sexual knowledge, sexual practice, and sexually transmitted diseases, HIV and AIDS." The authors argue there is a need for sexual education programs that will impact the sexual practices of adolescent male prostitutes.

Mathews, F. (1989). *Familial strangers: A study of adolescent prostitution.* (Revised Ed.). Toronto: Central Toronto Youth Services.

This document synthesizes a research study that aimed to develop relevant and appropriate services for adolescent prostitutes. The author contends that research on juvenile prostitution must incorporate the feelings, thoughts and concerns that youth have towards the individuals and agencies that intervene in their lives. The original study used multiple methods of inquiry, including in person interviews, questionnaires, participant observation, and a field study. Politicians, the police, service agencies, social workers, street workers and young prostitutes were invited to participate in the study. The findings indicate that those responsible for dealing with adolescent prostitution inadvertently help facilitate a youth's decision to become involved (and stay involved) in prostitution. The author develops a Social Effects Model that treats the decision to prostitute "not as a problem for the adolescent but as a solution." Factors contributing to a youth's decision to exit prostitution, and recommendations for combating juvenile prostitution are outlined.

McCarthy, B. (1995). ***On the streets: Youth in Vancouver.*** B.C.: Ministry of Social Services.

In 1992, the Minister of Social Services in British Columbia commissioned research on the "situation confronting 'street kids' in Vancouver." This study used self-report questionnaires and in-person interviews to ask 152 street involved youth (between 14 to 24 years of age and without a permanent shelter) about their "demographic characteristics," "present living conditions, employment history, family background and street experiences." Data was compared to previous research on street involved youth in Vancouver and research on the youth population in Vancouver and other Canadian cities. The data reveal that in comparison to school youth, street involved youth experienced more intrafamilial physical and sexual abuse, and they were more likely to have parents with substance abuse problems. Once on the streets, many youth become involved in various criminal activities (including prostitution) in order to subsist, or because of developing criminal associations "with other street people." With respect to prostitution, the author notes that youth involved in the sex trade were influenced by intrafamilial sexual and physical abuse, and many youth entered prostitution to survive, i.e., sell sex for food and shelter. The author advocates policies that decrease the amount of time that youth spend on the street as a tool to "affect street youth's involvement in street crime."

McCarthy, B., & Hagan, J. (1991). Homelessness: A criminogenic situation? ***British Journal of Criminology, 31***(4), 393-410.

According to the authors, criminologists have overlooked an important body of research that examines the relationship between adverse situations and participation in crime. Not discounting the significance of background variables to criminal activity, the authors speculate that situational factors may independently cause crime. Self-report data from a sample of homeless youth (N=390) in Toronto, Canada was used to investigate whether or not criminal activity increases with homelessness. Participants report on their criminal activity at home, and their participation in crime after leaving home. The results indicate that a sizable proportion of youth participated in more criminal activity after leaving home. Significant increases are witnessed in several composite measures, including prostitution. Accounting for age, gender and number of previous homeless experiences does not impact the results. Participation in crime appears to be strongly linked with the conditions that characterize homelessness.

McCarthy, B., & Hagan, J. (1992). Mean streets: The theoretical significance of situational delinquency among homeless youths. ***American Journal of Sociology, 98***(3), 597-627.

This research re-examines the relationship between adverse situations and participation in crime. The authors aim to provide some understanding of why street youth participate in various types of criminal activities. During 1987 and 1988, self-report questionnaires were administered to homeless youth in Toronto (N=390) and a sample of adolescents "living at home and attending school" (N=562). An integration of strain and control theories, which consider "background and situational factors," was used to analyze the data. Among other things, the data reveal that involvement in theft and prostitution "increases with problems of shelter; and prostitution increases with unemployment." Prostitution is related to several background variables, including sexual abuse, "prostitution at home", and a family history in the "working class." The authors argue that an "adverse situational conditions" precipitate involvement in crime, i.e., hunger is related to theft of food, problems of unemployment and shelter is related to involvement in prostitution. The data contributes to our theoretical understandings of street life and crime: "our purpose here is to push sociological criminology...towards foreground causes of delinquency and crime, through the study of criminogenic situations."

McCarthy, B., & Hagan, J. (1995). Getting into street crime: The structure and process of criminal embeddedness. ***Social Science Research, 24***, 63-95.

This research examines the relationship between the situational factors of being a street youth and involvement in criminal activities. The authors combine Granovetter's research on embeddedness, Coleman's work on social capital and Sutherland's differential association theory to hypothesize that association in deviant "networks" (on the street) provides access to teacher-student relationships where individuals learn about criminal "skills and attitudes" (what the authors refer to as criminal capital). McCarthy and Hagan test their hypothesis with "structural equation models of drug selling, theft and prostitution" among a sample of 390 youth (66% male and 34% female) living on the streets (i.e., living in shelters, hostels, or on the street). The results confirm that associations with criminal networks expose

street youth to teacher-student (tutelage) relationships that subsequently increases their involvement in crime. The data do not change when controlling for home and school experiences, time at risk, situational challenges, and pervious involvement in crime. The authors argue their research is contrary to notions that crime is an egotistical and impulsive act; instead, the acquisition of "criminal capital in a tutelage relationship" appears to enhance participation in crime. A social concept of crime emerges, whereby the adverse conditions of the street lead to associations with criminal networks and the involvement in criminal activity

McCarthy, B., Hagan, J., & Climenhage, J. (1991). *Agency Report on Toronto and Vancouver Street Youth Study*. Unpublished manuscript.

This is a collaborative study between researchers in the department of sociology at the Universities of Victoria and Toronto on the background of street youth, and their experiences once they leave home. This three-wave panel study focuses on family and school experiences, participation in crime, and exit services accessed by youth. Self-report questionnaires and in-person interviews are administered to 482 street youths (330 in Toronto and 152 in Vancouver) aged 16 to 24. The results provide information on demographic characteristics, and reveals that factors contributing to street youth involvement in crime vary by offence type and are "influenced by both background and situational factors." A social welfare model characterizes Toronto's approach to street youth and crime, while Vancouver's approach is based on a crime control oriented model that exposes youth to extended opportunities to criminal activity. The authors conclude their analysis supports the notion that urban crime and social polices affects the incidence of some crime.

McClanahan, S., McClelland, G., Abram, K., & Teplin, L. (1999). Pathways into prostitution among female jail detainees and their implications for mental health services. *Psychiatric Services, 50*(12), 1606-1613.

The authors argue there is a paucity of research examining precursors to prostitution. In addition to small sample sizes and less than ideal comparison groups, few studies have examined the interrelationship among involvement in prostitution and childhood sexual victimization, running away and drug use. The purpose of this study is to explore these pathways (and their interrelationship) into prostitution. The authors conducted structured interviews with 1,142 female detainees at the Cook County Department of Corrections between 1991-1993. Interview questions focused on history of involvement in prostitution, as well as experiences of childhood sexual abuse, running away and drug abuse. More than one-third of the sample indicated they had been involved in prostitution. The authors argue "childhood sexual victimization has a lifelong effect on entry into prostitution, doubling or nearly doubling the odds of entry into the sex trade. Having run away, by contrast, affected entry into routine prostitution only in the early adolescent years, increasing the odds of entry into prostitution during that period by more than 40 times." Drug abuse was found to follow rather than precede involvement in prostitution. Despite several limitations (e.g., limits of self-report data, limited opportunity for respondents to discuss their experiences, and the bias sample of jail detainees), the authors confirm previous studies, which suggest that childhood sexual abuse and running away are "powerful" risk factors for entry into prostitution. The authors argue that early recovery of children who run away and emotionally and environmentally stable support systems for youth are needed to prevent entry into the sex trade. Moreover, victims of childhood sexual abuse need "mental health services to help them come to terms with their victimization and restore a sense of mastery and control over their lives."

*** McCreary Centre Society. (1999). *Our kids too: Sexually exploited youth in British Columbia: An adolescent health survey*. Burnaby, B.C.**

This report explores the needs of youth who have been involved in prostitution in "smaller urban centres" in British Columbia. Forty-four youth under the age of 19 who had exchanged sex for "goods or money" were included in the study. Among the findings: most were female, one-third was Aboriginal; 80% had been involved in government care; and 90% had experienced physical or sexual abuse. Many of the youth had used alcohol and drugs and one-half had attempted suicide. The youth also noted the importance of safe housing, education and employment opportunities and alcohol and drug services.

McDonald, L., Moore, B., & Timoshinka, N. (2000). ***Migrant sex workers from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: The Canadian case.*** Status of Women Canada.

The United Nations estimates that "four million people are trafficked throughout the world each year." The number of people trafficked into Canada ranges from 8,000 to 16,000. Many observers suggest that the sex trade is a burgeoning form of trafficking. Unfortunately, there is no reliable research on the nature and extent of trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution, including a lack of information about the number of women trafficked into Canada. The purpose of this study is to explore the trafficking of women from Central and Eastern Europe to Canada. In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 women involved in the sex trade, 15 service providers, and 15 key informants (e.g., police, massage parlour owners, and immigration officials). Most respondents working in the sex trade were between 18-26, however, the authors suggest that many appeared to be under the age of 18, but were "hesitant to provide their age to the interviewers." In developing the methodology, the sex trade workers (who were consulted in the design of the study) objected to the term "trafficking"; they argued that it was inappropriate as not all sex trade workers were "...helpless victims who did not choose their work or to migrate to Canada." The authors found that political and economic changes in the former Soviet Union and the transition to a market economy in Central and Eastern Europe has contributed to as a feminization of poverty, making some women vulnerable to exploitation through trafficking. "Conditions of recruitment, migration and employment were, in many cases, deplorable and characterized by exploitation, control and illegal activity." They also found few social services for sex trade workers from the Slavic region and that many women avoided services because of their illegal immigration status. The report includes recommendations for addressing the trafficking of women to Canada.

McIntyre, S. (1999). The youngest profession – the oldest oppression: A study of sex work. In C. Bagley, & K. Mallick (Eds.), ***Child Sexual Abuse and Adult Offender New Theory and Research.*** London: Ashgate.

The author conducted interviews with 50 sex trade workers (41 females) in Calgary, Alberta. Using grounded theory and a feminist approach to data interpretation, McIntyre asked respondents a broad range of "social and demographic questions." In general, the author argues that many youth "gravitate" to the streets where their "street family looks after their needs and they feel wanted, nurtured, supported and protected." Eighty-two percent of the sample was "sexually violated" prior to involvement with sex work, while three-quarters had a history of physical abuse. The mean age of entry into prostitution was 14 (75% starting before age 16 and 86% before age 18). Once involved in the sex trade, most (82%) had experienced "bad dates." Other dangers of the lifestyle include the use of drugs to cope with prostitution, a fast-paced, "living on the edge lifestyle," a lack of connection/support, and physical issues (e.g., exhaustion). The author criticises existing literature that characterises youth involvement in the sex trade as a form of individual pathology. Instead, the decision to prostitute must be understood within social structural issues such as "patriarchy, capitalism, the subordinate positioning of women and lack of economic opportunity". The demand aspect of the trade also must be examined when discussing the youth sex trade - "women's sexual script as the provider and males' need for penis feeding are central to the issue of prostitution and patriarchy." The author develops a typology to help explain entry into prostitution: family origin, separation and attachment, survival, autonomy, cycle of abuse, and power and control. "The typology explains what attracts and maintains an individual in sex work; this typology is not static in nature and alters over time for each individual."

McLeod, E. (1982). ***Women working: Prostitution now.*** London: Crook Helm.

Most explanations of "why men go to prostitutes" characterize male customers as individuals with "perverted sexual tastes" or the by-product of "macho desire for women as sex objects." The author conducted in-depth interviews with 20 clients and talked with prostitutes to help understand why men purchase sexual services. The data suggest a substantially different picture of male clients than what is obtained in previous studies of this population. The author asserts that clients cannot be explained away as the "perverted few;" their actions reflect "men's dominant social position in various ways. Obtaining sexual relief through payments, whatever one thinks of the worth of the activity, is not unique to men but it is not proscribed for them to the degree that it is for women. Much of what men want for prostitutes is a matter of self-centred gratification." In this respect, men are also "victims of existing social structures." The author argues that men go to prostitutes because stereotypical heterosexual roles emphasize "masculine proweress and dominance," and the institution of marriage has failed to fulfill their "emotional and sexual needs, but they are too frightened to reveal the truth of their experience of marriage."

McMullen, R.J. (1988). Boys involved in prostitution. *Youth and Policy, 28*, 35-42.

This document reviews the "behavioral dynamics of youth prostitution," and the conditions associated with the youth sex trade in London. The author notes that youth involved in prostitution will often perceive themselves to be in a position of power vis-à-vis the customer – a sort of "game" to gain control. In reality, children and youth involved in prostitution are subjected to a variety of risks (e.g., violence, rape, sexually transmitted disease and substance abuse). The author notes that moral reactions to prostitution reveals more about the society "projecting" its morality than about the phenomenon of youth prostitution. The prostitution label impacts a youth's self-identity and ego development. In this respect there is a need to understand that many of these youth involved in prostitution are "push aways" (often from a physically and sexually abusive home situation) trying to survive. The paper concludes with a description of a support and counseling service (Streetwise) for young prostitutes that strives to empower young people, without asserting a "moral crusade" that strives to 'save' youth from the sex trade.

McCormick, N. (1986). Reflections on criticisms of the Badgley report. In J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys, & S. Gavigan (Eds.), *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports*, Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University.

Response following the release of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth Report (the Badgley Report) ranged from shock and disbelief about the prevalence of child sexual abuse, to professional commentaries that criticized the Report on methodological and ideological grounds. In this paper, Badgley Committee member Norma McCormick reviews several comments and criticisms leveled at the Committee's findings: 1) that the incidence of child sexual abuse was not true; 2) that the report sensationalized the phenomenon; 3) that child sexual abuse is an inevitable part of our society; and 4) the Report is too legalistic and paternalistic in its approach. After addressing each concern, the author argues that the Badgley Committee undertook the difficult task of producing "a unanimous set of recommendations," and that the end result is "unashamedly child centred."

McKeganey, N.P., & Barnard, M. (1996). *Sex Work on the Streets: Prostitutes and their Clients.* Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

The authors used three years of interview data with prostitutes and their clients to examine the practice of prostitution in Glasgow, Scotland. The data suggest that prostitution is correlated with drug use, and that women working in the sex trade constantly fear violence and arrest (violence against prostitutes is commonplace). The authors report "low and varied" levels of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) among prostitutes, contrary to popular belief that prostitutes represent a threat to public health. Prostitutes differentiate between "paid and private sexual encounters as a way of managing their personal identity." Information about clients who purchase sex from prostitutes includes: the ability to obtain special sexual acts; excitement over a clandestine relationship; and, a desire to keep the "transactional nature of the interaction" secret. Attitudes that prostitutes transgress prescribed gender roles are observed in the criminal justice system and are used to explain violence against prostitutes. The authors briefly outline public policy implications (e.g., changes to the legal status of prostitution will only be realized if accompanied by societal attitudes towards sex in general and prostitution in specific). "That change in attitude will only come about once we see the individuals involved in the world of prostitution as people rather than as the subjects of tabloid headlines and armchair moralizing."

McLaren, J. (1986). Chasing the social evil: Moral fervour and the evolution of Canada's prostitution laws, 1867-1917. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 1*, 125-165.

Social and legal historians frequently discuss the relationship between criminal law and morality. John McLaren examines how various moral concerns influenced the enactment and enforcement of Canadian prostitution-related legislation between 1867 and 1917. The paper illustrates how British reformers influenced the creation of early prostitution laws in Canada. Concerns over seas about the association between prostitution and venereal disease, and fears about child prostitution as a form of "white slavery" impacted upon reform efforts in Canada. Various interest groups, ranging from women's groups to religious organizations, encouraged government to enact laws to protect women and children from the evils of prostitution. However, legislators and reformers ignored the economic and social conditions "which led women and girls into prostitution," laws enacted to stop the sexual exploitation of prostitutes failed to decrease the incidence of prostitution, and the law was frequently used to harass and victimize

prostitutes themselves. McLaren concludes by warning contemporary legislators of the "dangers of excessive moral fervour," and pitfalls with treating the law as a panacea for this complex social problem.

Michaud, M. (1988). ***Dead end: Homeless teenagers, a multi-service approach.*** Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.

Canadian society has witnessed an increasing number of homeless youth. With few options for survival, many of these youth quickly turn to deviant and illegal behaviour as a source of income. This book integrates the perspective of various disciplines to contextualize problems associated with youth homelessness, and to explore methods for helping youth exit the streets. Two chapters examine the relationship between childhood sexual and physical abuse, the decision to run away from home, and subsequent involvement in prostitution. The author advances a multi-service approach, co-ordinated by all levels of government, that stresses prevention, crisis intervention, and enhanced exit services for homeless youth.

Michaud, M. (1988). Teenagers who prostitutes. In M. Michaud, ***Dead end: Homeless teenagers, a multi-service approach.*** Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.

An important aspect of the youth homelessness phenomenon is involvement in prostitution. This article relies on the perspectives of youth to provide an understanding of factors associated with youth prostitution, including background characteristics, the impact of sexual abuse, emotional and physical health issues, and contact with the criminal justice system. In-person interviews were conducted with 42 prostitutes under the age of nineteen. The findings indicate that many youth ran away from a sexually abusive and chaotic home environment they described as intolerable. Once on the streets, youth reported becoming involved in prostitution for economic reasons, and prolonged involvement in the lifestyle made it increasingly difficult to exit the sex trade. The author advocates an immediate and widespread response to prevent further involvement of youth in prostitution.

Miller, J., & Schwartz, M.D. (1995). Rape myths and violence against street prostitutes. ***Deviant Behavior, 16***(1), 1-23.

This study used in-depth interviews with 16 street prostitutes in a county jail (mid-western U.S. city) to examine the "experience and meaning" of violence against prostitutes. The respondents indicated a significant amount of rape and violence. The authors suggest that stereotypical rape myths "come together uniquely in the case of prostitutes to fuel both the violence and devaluation that allows society to ignore such treatment." Several myths emerge from the interviews: that prostitutes are unrapable; prostitutes are not harmed when they are raped; prostitutes "deserve" to be raped; and "all prostitutes are the same." The authors argue that violence against prostitutes is a reflection of the overall phenomenon of violence against women.

Minichiello, V., Rodrigo, M., Browne, J., Jamieson, M., Peterson, K., Reuter, B., & Robinson, K. (1999). A profile of the clients of male sex workers in three Australian cities. ***Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health, 23***(5), 511-518.

This paper reports findings from a study of customers of male prostitutes, as reported by male sex workers. "The paper attempts to provide a more comprehensive descriptive account of clients by asking sex workers to describe each client separately. The paper describes male sex workers' perceptions of the socio-demographic characteristics of clients and compares the clients by source of recruitment." Sex workers who advertised in newspapers, street sex workers, and workers operating through escort agencies in Sidney, Melbourne and Brisbane were recruited for the study. Male sex workers were asked to complete a brief questionnaire (referred to as a diary) following a sexual encounter with a client. One hundred and eighty-six sex workers participated in the study, providing information on 2,088 encounters and profiles for 1,776 clients. The largest proportion of clients were in their 40s (31.7%), followed by those in their 30s (28.7%) and 16% who were in their 20s. Most clients were perceived as being "middle class." "Rich" clients tended to use services provided by an escort agency, while "poor" clients used the services of street workers. Most clients were identified as being gay (45%) or bisexual (31.3%). Drug and alcohol use by clients before the sexual encounter was uncommon. Sex workers reported having some personal information about their clients (61.2% of the cases). Greater trust between the client and the sex worker may result in increased risk-taking in sexual practices (7% of the clients requested unprotected intercourse). Customer violence was reported infrequently (occurring more frequently with street clients than with other types of clients). The authors suggest the results will help formulate

policy and education strategies. However, "what is urgently required is a broader understanding of the interaction between the client and the male sex worker."

Mok, B., & Jitong, L. (1999). In the service of market socialism: The quest for a welfare model in China. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 26*(3), 137-149.

The shift from a social welfare system to a socialist market economy in China during the late 1970s was accompanied by the emergence of new social problems and needs. New social issues included unemployment, deteriorating family relations, poverty among vulnerable populations and prostitution. "This paper discusses a welfare model proposed by the Chinese Government to contain the destabilizing effects of the social problems and to serve the newly adopted market socialism." The authors note that prostitution had once been unimaginable in Socialist China, but is now growing into a persistent problem. Research conducted in 1994 revealed that, despite the varied reasons why women chose to enter prostitution, more than one half of the women surveyed cited money as their primary motive for entering the sex trade. To combat new social ills - such as prostitution - the Chinese government has started to explore the necessary steps for "socializing social welfare." "The mission of social welfare, as repeatedly reiterated by Chinese leaders, is to help construct and consolidate socialism with Chinese characteristics through making full use of the market."

Morse, E.V., Simon, P.M., & Balson, P.M. (1992). Sexual behavior patterns of customers of male street prostitutes. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 21*(4), 347-357.

This study uses semi-structured interviews with 211 prostitutes and 15 male customers to examine the sexual behaviour of male customers of male street prostitutes. Interviews focused on background and lifestyle information, sexual and substance use behaviours and HIV knowledge. The results indicate awareness and knowledge of HIV infection, however customers were found to participate in "high-risk sexual and drug use behaviours." Male prostitutes had a high rate of HIV infection (175 per 1,000). The authors generalize that because customers were self-identified as bisexual or heterosexual, it stands to reason that male customers of male prostitutes infect other partners (including heterosexual partners) with the AIDS virus.

Nandon, S.M., Koverola, C. & Schludermann, E.H. (1998). Antecedents to prostitution: Childhood victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 13*(2), 206-221.

Research on antecedents to prostitution "suffers from serious methodological flaws," which include: "measures without established psychometric properties," retrospective reporting by adult prostitutes; the lack of a comparison group; or comparison groups that were significantly different than prostitute samples. Based on the extant literature, the authors assume that prostitutes are more likely to have run away from a physically and sexually abusive home life, that the nature of their abuse is different from non-prostitute groups, and they are more likely to have lived in a dysfunctional family setting, i.e., alcoholic parents, violence between parents and poor self-esteem. The authors conducted interviews (based on Silbert's Sexual Assault Experiences Questionnaire) with 45 adolescent female prostitutes and 37 adolescent non-prostitutes. Questions focused on "background information, prostitution history, childhood sexual victimization, childhood physical abuse, leaving home, adolescent alcohol use, adolescent drug use, parental alcohol use, interparental violence, family functioning, and self esteem." The results replicated previous findings with respect to several background experiences of prostitutes, i.e., childhood physical and sexual abuse, intrafamilial violence, substance abuse problems, and poor self-esteem. However, "these factors, previously identified as associated with prostitution, failed to discriminate the prostitutes and non-prostitutes groups." Nevertheless, prostitutes run away from home more frequently, which suggests "if basic needs can be met by legitimate means, youth may not feel it necessary to resort to prostitution."

National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children. (1992). *Female juvenile prostitution: Problem and response*. Washington, D.C.

This report examines the problem of youth prostitution from the perspective of the youth and those who have profited from the sex trade. The first chapter documents case histories of 14 female prostitutes and 6 male pimps. Respondents were selected from a sample of interviews with prostitutes who entered the sex trade as youth and who participated in two outreach programs. The second chapter discusses how to identify youth prostitution issues and

concerns within the community and how to implement programs to address the phenomenon. The third chapter explains a program for juveniles (the Paul and Lisa program) in Connecticut, New Jersey and New York.

O'Neill, M. (2001). ***Prostitution and feminism: Towards a politics of feeling.*** Massachusetts: Polity Press.

In this book, O'Neill attempts to address the complexities of "understanding feminist responses to prostitution at the turn of the century." The author focuses on the interrelationships between "feminist research, feminist theory and feminist practice in late modern/postmodern times." In addition to providing a socio-cultural analysis of prostitution, O'Neill surveys the primary feminist debates on prostitution, provides ethnographic data with women and youth involved in prostitution, and presents "a renewed methodology for social science research, defined as ethno-mimesis." ("Ethno-mimesis combines ethnographic research and the re-presentation of ethnographic data in visual/artistic form".) Two chapters directly relate to youth prostitution. Chapter three examines pathways into prostitution, focusing on the "physic and social processes" that lead some women to enter prostitution. O'Neill reveals that most women entered prostitution for "financial reasons," and that many were introduced to the trade by acquaintances (e.g., met someone – sometimes a pimp – and they started prostituting as a means of subsistence). Further, with few community supports, many youth living independently or in care become involved in the sex trade. Chapter four examines the interrelationship between "prostitution, homelessness, leaving care and runaways and the central importance of developing social knowledge as social critique, as feminist praxis." The chapter reveals that treating youth as victims may not "engender positive outcomes... Analogous to the literature on domestic violence, treating young people as 'survivors' rather than 'victims' may be a better approach." An overall message of the chapter is that we need to stop treating young people as "social junk" and "criminals" and start providing child-centred services. O'Neill argues, "... the way we respond as a society to this issue is a mark of our 'postemotionalism' or 'compassion fatigue'."

Opperman, M. (1999). Sex tourism. ***Annals of Tourism Research, 26***(2), 251-266.

Sex tourism traditionally has been defined as "... tourism for commercial sex purposes." In this article, Martin Opperman reviews the existing sex tourism literature and "proposes a holistic framework that moves beyond the traditional use of monetary exchange as the defining criteria of sex tourism." The author differentiates sex tourism from prostitution by outlining five definitional parameters that should be considered when attempting to define sex tourism: purpose of travel, length of time, relationship, sexual encounter, and who falls in this category of travel. The author examines issues such as the flow of the "sex provider" and "sex seeker" from and to developed and developing countries, and the sexual exploitation of the sex provider. Difficulties associated with defining sex tourists and sex tourism include multiple purposes of travel, and that the customer spends extended periods of time with the same prostitute, offering accommodation, travel or clothing instead of cash. The relationship that develops between the customer and prostitute varies and can sometimes become quite complex. "One thus needs to move away from overt simplification and develop a wider interpretation of sex tourists and sex tourism." The author concludes that sex tourism should be defined along a holistic and multi-dimensional scale, and that more research is needed to further investigate and understand the "diverse issues surrounding sex tourism."

Ottawa-Carleton Regional Police Services. (1999). ***Street-level prostitution: Report on best practices symposium.***

During the mid-1990s, the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Police Service (OCRPS) received numerous complaints about the nuisances associated with street-level prostitution. In response, the OCRPS convened a meeting of community and agency representatives, "developed community- and agency-developed responses," and on September 18 and 19, 1997, hosted a "Best Practices Symposium on Street-Level Prostitution." The purpose of this handbook is to synthesize the proceeding of the Symposium and provide practitioners with examples of "successful approaches to the issue of street-level prostitution." During the Symposium participants discussed challenges associated with the street trade, including the issues and problems associated with youth involvement in prostitution. Many participants argued that "comprehensive initiatives should be undertaken to prevent the "recruitment and exploitation of children and youth in prostitution," and they highlighted the importance of prevention, education and harm reduction programs (e.g., to deal with HIV concerns). The report includes information about prostitution-related programs and best practices (e.g., John schools, Provincial Prostitution Unit of British Columbia, Youth Services Bureau of Ottawa-Carleton, Covenant house, and Streetlight Support Services).

Paperny, D., & Deisher, R. (1983). Maltreatment of adolescents: The relationship to a predisposition toward violent behaviour and delinquency. *Adolescence, 18*, 499-506.

This article reviews the literature on the association between adolescent maltreatment abuse and exploitation, and subsequent involvement in violent and other criminal activity. The review focuses on the association between intrafamilial family abuse and antisocial behaviour (the authors differentiate child abuse from adolescent abuse). The authors outline debates concerning the impact of various maltreatment, and research on the association between sexual abuse and involvement in male sexual offences and male prostitution. Evidence suggests that adolescents who experience conflict with the juvenile justice system may be, or have been victims of various types of abuse and exploitation. Service practitioners must understand the background characteristics of the youths they are attempting to help.

Pawar, M.S. (1991). Prostitution and the girl child. *Indian Journal of Social Work, 52*(1), 105-113.

The government of India has introduced the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (ITPA) and several state laws that prohibit trafficking persons for the purpose of prostitution. Despite these measures, the sexual exploitation of children and females continues to spread at an "alarming rate." The author compares and contrasts official statistics and figures concerning the enforcement of the ITPA. The information reveals that enforcement of this legislation "leaves much to be desired," and that amendments to the ITPA have not affected the proliferation of the sexual exploitation of children and females.

Pennbridge, J., Freese, T., & MacKenzie, R. (1992). High risk behaviours among street youth in Hollywood, California. *AIDS Education and Prevention* (Suppl.), 24-33.

This study examines the high-risk sex and substance use activities of 446 male street youth (aged 14-23) in Hollywood, California. The authors compare participants involved in "survival sex" and those involved in "recreational sex." The data reveal that 90% of the males in the sample were sexually active; 27.1% had prostituted in the last 3 months, and participation in prostitution was most common among older, gay males. The authors identify several risk factors that emerge from the data, including inconsistent condom use, high-risk sexual activities (during both survival and recreational sex), numerous sexual partners, intravenous drug use, and the consumption of alcohol and drugs during sex.

Pheterson, G. (1996). *Prostitution Prism* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

In this chapter, the author examines the social and legal forces that intervene in the lives of street involved youth. Pheterson argues that the oppression of youth is perpetuated by society, which treats the youth as "outlaw non-citizens" who are "dispensable, unworthy and lesser beings." Attempts to remedy the condition of young people have centered on returning youth to their families or a state-run institution, despite the fact that neither situation may be "safe or tolerable for the young person concerned." "Sincere advocates" have demanded that street involved and sexually exploited youth (including youth involved in prostitution) be treated "like children, not criminals." However, Pheterson warns that protectionist discourse is often a euphemism for control: "that control is clothed in language of 'protection,' 'prevention,' 're-habilitation' and 're-insertion' of 'victims' but the message is consistently a prohibition of self-determination." Pheterson argues that the concepts of "prostitute" and "prostitution" serve as a means of regulating the agency of all women. Overall, the author advocates a social and legal framework that differentiates between the state role of providing resources and care with the prohibition of autonomy.

Pleak, R., & Meyer-Bahlburg, H. (1990). Sexual behavior and AIDS knowledge of young male prostitutes in Manhattan. *The Journal of Sex Research, 27*, 557-588.

This study uses structured interviews with 50 male prostitutes (age 14-27) in Manhattan to examine their "sexual orientation, sexual behaviour, knowledge of AIDS, and substance abuse." Fifty percent of the sample was homosexual, 26% bisexual, and 24% heterosexual. The data reveal that respondents involved in anal intercourse used condoms during an average of 85% of the encounters. The use of safe sex practices depended on the sexual partner: respondents were safest with customers, less safe during same sex encounters for pleasure, and "least safe with female partners." The authors indicate that male prostitutes expose themselves to greatest risk for HIV infection.

through "differential condom use" and other unsafe sexual practices. Respondents who reported an understanding of AIDS related issues were more likely to practice safe sex. Drug and alcohol abuse and other variables were not correlated with "degree of safety in sex." The authors conclude that methods used for this study can help in the assessment of male prostitutes and intervention programs.

Plumridge, E.W., Chetwynd, S., & Reed, A. (1997). Control and condoms in commercial sex: Client perspectives. *Sociology of Health and Illness, 19*(2), 228-243.

This research focuses on condom use and the "sexual pleasure" of clients and prostitutes in the heterosexual commercial sex trade. Interviews are conducted with 24 male clients who visited a massage parlour in Christchurch, New Zealand. The data provide information on attitudes toward safe sex procedures, the process of bargaining for sex, and the "performance of sex." The respondents indicate that the decision to have sex was the only time in the process that they had power. Decisions concerning safe sex practices and the supply of condoms and condom failures were considered the responsibility of the prostitute. Clients suggested they allowed the prostitutes to control her "own body and sexual pleasure." Finally, many customers displayed themselves to prostitutes in "morally creditable and sexually sophisticated terms."

Potter, K., Martin, J. & Romans, S. (1999). Early development experiences of female sex workers: A comparative study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 33*, 935-940.

Previous research on youth prostitution suggests that childhood sexual abuse and leaving home at a young age are important antecedents to involvement in the sex trade. "The aim of this paper is to explore the early family environment of a sample of female sex workers and compare the findings with a large community data set of similarly aged women." Twenty-nine sex workers between 16 and 47 years of age were selected through a snowball sampling method and administered a semi-structured interview that asked questions about family life, physical and sexual abuse, and socio-economic status. The control group consisted of 680 women of similar ages. Sex workers were more likely than the control group to leave home before the age of 15 (one-fifth of the sex workers compared to 2% of the control group). In comparison to the control group, sex workers reported that that their parents were significantly less caring. Over 80% of the sex workers had experienced some form of physical abuse before the age of 16. Sex workers were more likely than the control group to "report childhood sexual abuse" and "were more likely to have become pregnant before the age of 19 years and to not have completed a tertiary study." The sample of sex workers "came from families with more interpersonal difficulties during childhood and adolescence" than did the control group. The results provide suggestions with respect to several important factors contributing to a person's decision to enter prostitution. However, "they need to be understood in the context of the later educational and occupational choices confronting women as they sort out work patterns."

Price, V. (1989). Characteristics and needs of Boston street youth: One agency's response. *Children and Youth Services Review, 11*, 75-90.

There are important differences between homeless youth, runaway youth and youth involved in prostitution. A majority of street youth witnessed considerable intrafamilial emotional and substance abuse problems before ending up on the streets. Bridge Over Troubled Waters is a multi-service agency for homeless and runaway youth in Boston, Massachusetts. The agency is recognized for its work with street youth, and the program attempts to design and deliver services that suit the characteristics and needs of street involved youth.

Price, V., Scanlon, B., & Janus, M.D. (1984). Social characteristics of adolescent male prostitution. *Victimology: An International Journal, 9*, 211-221.

This research examines teenage male prostitution on two levels: 1) different methods of prostitution, and 2) patterns of street behaviour. The authors conducted interviews with 28 teenage males involved in prostitution to explore their "family history, parental and sibling relationship patterns, school involvement, and friendship patterns." Among the findings: the youth indicate family problems, characterized by memories of fights between parents, alcohol abuse, and neglect. Poor relationships with families, adults and friends were commonplace. The youth identified themselves as isolated, victimized, and having negative experiences in school and with peers. The data suggest an alternative approach for individuals attempting to treat teenage males involved in prostitution. The sexual victimization of

prostitution is an important treatment component; however "primary therapeutic issues are not necessarily sexual for typical adolescent issues," and are probably linked to problems of "arrested development." The authors conclude that survival issues associated with prostitution must be addressed before attempting to deal with "nuanced psychological problems."

Pyett, P., & Warr, D. (1999). Women at risk in sex work: Strategies for survival. *Journal of Sociology, 35*(2), 183-197.

This paper reviews a qualitative study of "female sex workers who were identified as particularly vulnerable to risks to their sexual health and physical safety" (conducted in Melbourne, Australia). Twenty-four women sex workers between the ages of 14 and 47 years were asked questions about issues of safe sex and risk management in their work, health and private lives. Issues discussed included condom use with clients and other sexual partners, drug use, STDs and other health issues, social isolation, experience of violence, and risk management strategies. One quarter of the women had become involved in the sex trade before the age of sixteen, and financial hardship was most often cited as a reason for entering prostitution. Most street workers were involved in injection drug use and two-thirds of were homeless or without stable accommodation. A majority of respondents reported little or no social support from friends, family or other workers, and they reported frequent physical assaults and difficulty enforcing condom use with clients. Youthfulness, inexperience and the effects of drugs or alcohol played an important part in a woman's inability to control their work situations. "The very young women who had been working on the streets for only a year or less had few skills for actively managing the paid sexual encounter." Homelessness, social isolation, heavy drug use and a history of physical and sexual abuse as children characterized the respondents' backgrounds. The authors argue for decriminalizing all forms of prostitution to increase safety for all women involved in the sex trade. They further argue that "problems associated with homelessness, drug use and extreme social isolation far outweigh most of the risks associated with sex work."

Raffaelli, M., Campos, R., Merrit, A.P., Siqueira, E., Antunes, C.N., Parker, R., Greco, M., Greco, D., Halsey, N., & the Street Youth Group (1993). Sexual practices and attitudes of street youth in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. *Social Science and Medicine, 37*, 661-670.

There is worldwide concern with street youth and children being exposure to HIV. Information on the "meanings and functions" of sexual activity of street youth is necessary to develop effective HIV-related prevention and harm reduction strategies. This study uses multiple methods and sources (questionnaires, focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and field observations) to examine the sexual culture of street youth (9 to 18 years of age) in a large Brazilian city. The data indicate that these youth are involved in high-risk sexual activities that expose them to HIV/AIDS, and other sexually transmitted diseases. The respondents live in a world where sex serves numerous needs (e.g., for survival, pleasure, dominance). The authors depict sex as a "multi-determined and entrenched behaviour" within this group of youths. Intervention programs for street youth must address issues associated with survival sex, sex for comfort, sex for pleasure, and various psychological problems experienced during adolescence.

Raychaba, B. (1988). To be on our own with no direction from home: A report on the special needs of youth leaving the care of the child welfare system. National Youth in Care Network.

The National Youth in Care Network is an advocacy group for youths (aged 14 to 24) who are or have been part of the child welfare system. This book discusses youth experiences during their transition from systemic dependence to independent living. This study stems from exploratory research conducted in 1987 for the Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee (S.A.R.C.). This follow-up study reviews the extant literature and completes a survey with Ontario child welfare agencies. The author finds that many youth experience emotional and substance abuse difficulties during the transition from the child welfare system to independent living. In addition, many youth who leave the child welfare system with few employment-related skills are vulnerable to becoming involved in prostitution. Government and child welfare authorities are encouraged to develop strategies to help youth in care graduate into successful adulthood.

Recommendations of the Prostitution Policy, Service and Research Committee for the Calgary Community. (1996). *Handbook for Action Against Prostitution of Youth in Calgary*.

Prostitution continues to thrive in Calgary, despite many attempts to control and suppress its various manifestations. In 1994, the Calgary Police Commission approached a group of Calgary stakeholders to investigate problems associated with child and youth prostitution, and to provide recommendations for developing a coordinated effort to combat the youth sex trade. The Committee's mandate included a review of policy and procedures, protocols, research and information distribution, public education and program needs. Among the Committee's recommendations: treat prostitutes under the age of 18 as victims of child sexual abuse, amend the *Child Welfare Act of Alberta* to include prostitution-related activities, develop prevention and education programs to keep youth from entering prostitution, identify youth-at-risk, provide support and service to family and youth after divulging youth involvement in prostitution, develop a secure environment for youth prostitutes who testify in court, and enhance crisis intervention and social services for youth exiting prostitution.

*** Regina Aboriginal Human Services Co-operative .(1996). *Children off the street initiative research project (COTS)*. Regina: author.**

This research examines responses to street involved youth in North Central Regina, including recommendations based upon interviews with community members and professionals, and a review of research and services in other jurisdictions. The report focuses on Aboriginal youth involved in prostitution, and suggests there is a conflict between "the current mandate of Saskatchewan's *Child and Family Services Act* and the concept of a children's shelter." Among the recommendations: more services, education to prevent youth involvement in prostitution, research of the conditions that lead to youth running away to the streets, involve youth in decision making processes, and introduce a holistic approach to "healing the child."

Safer City Task Force. (1993). *Final Report*. Vancouver, B.C.: City Clerk's Office.

This report examines a variety of issues related to urban design and safety, domestic violence and university campus violence in Vancouver, B.C. Among other things, the document focuses on violent crimes, gangs, drugs, traffic safety, social and economic issues, and prostitution. With respect to prostitution, the Task Force rejects the assumption that "prostitution will always exist." The committee asserts that initiatives to address "root causes" of prostitution (e.g., domestic violence and sexual abuse), coupled with "interim steps" that provide alternatives to prostitutes will help eliminate the sex trade. The report argues that pimps and customers should be held accountable for the sexual procurement of youth. The Task Force urges the government to amend legislation against customers of youth "so that it is the customer's responsibility to determine that the prostitute is not a juvenile." Among the recommendations: counseling services for prostitutes; legal aid services for prostitutes; substance abuse education and prevention; review by-laws regulating escort agencies; request the Vancouver Police Department enforce legislation against customers of prostitutes; amend s.212(4) to make it enforceable; and, encourage the public and government to develop the "political will to eradicate prostitution."

Save the Children Canada. (2000). Sacred lives: Canadian Aboriginal children and youth speak out about sexual exploitation. *National Aboriginal Consultation Project*. Canada: author.

The authors report findings from consultations with more than 150 commercially sexually exploited Aboriginal children and youth across Canada. The purpose of the report is to "more fully understand the commercial sexual exploitation of Aboriginal children and youth in Canada." In particular, the authors wanted to provide youth the opportunity to "express their ideas and concerns regarding the issue of abuse, exploitation, prevention, healing, exiting, crisis intervention, harm reduction, public attitudes and youth participation." The overrepresentation of aboriginal youth in the sexual exploitation trade is a matter of serious concern. "the negative impact of European colonialism on Native peoples and their cultures has been a decisive factor in creating and maintaining barriers of social, economic and political inequality." "All of the Aboriginal youth who were consulted during the focus groups spoke of the physical, sexual and/or emotional abuse they experienced in their home lives, as parents, relatives, care givers, and neighbours continued to suffer from the legacy of cultural fragmentation." The authors note that the youth shared stories of marginalization and vulnerability "due to both past and present circumstances." With no place to live, and with few educational and job skills/opportunities, many Aboriginal youth became involved in sexual

exploitation as a means of subsistence. Once on the streets, Aboriginal youth involved in the sex trade are exposed to various forms of danger (e.g., violence and drugs). "The major factors that lead to the deaths of Aboriginal children and youth who are sexually exploited through prostitution are murder, AIDS, suicide, and overdoses." The report outlines the need for prevention, crisis intervention/harm reduction, exiting and healing and public attitudes/advocacy. The authors conclude that youth involvement is key to advocating and implementing positive social change. "By viewing Aboriginal youth involvement in the sex trade within a larger social context, and by acknowledging our collective social responsibility for the life circumstances of these young people, we can begin to offer solutions based on progressive economic and social policy rather than in repression by the law."

Sansfaçon, D. (1984). *Prostitution in Canada: A research review report, working paper #10*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.

To assist the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Report, 1985) with its mandate, the Department of Justice Canada commissioned a series of research studies. The studies were categorized into three groups: 1) research conducted throughout Canada (five regional studies) that examined the business of prostitution and its control; 2) A national population study that gathered opinions towards prostitution; 3) Comparative studies that examined approaches to prostitution in Europe, the United States, Asia, Arabia and in South America. This report provides an overview of "what was learned about prostitution in the course of this research." The report also reviews data collected for the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report, 1984). In addition to reviewing the "state of knowledge at the time the studies were undertaken," the report examines prohibitionist, regulatory and abolitionist approaches to prostitution, and reviews the history of prostitution-related legislation in Canada. Further, the report outlines the findings produced by the five regional studies, including a review of prostitution practices, the control of prostitution, and the perceptions of prostitution and its effects, and options for their control. Among other things, the author finds that there is not "a form of prostitution and not a typical male or female prostitutes." The reports differ on whether prostitutes experienced more physical and sexual abuse while growing-up than did non-prostitutes. There was some consensus that prostitutes lacked "formal schooling" and they had "little job experience." Many prostitutes entered the sex trade between the ages of 16 - 20, and once involved in prostitution they experienced various forms of violence. "Women in particular are often victims of sexual assault on the part of their customers, and physical violence from their pimps, other prostitutes, or customers. Typically, clients were married men between 30 and 50 years of age who were from "any walk of life."

Sas, L., & Hurley, P. (1997). *Project "Guardian": The sexual exploitation of male youth in London*. Ontario: Ministry of Community Services.

In the fall of 1993, police in London, Ontario discovered 40 videotapes in the Ausable River. The tapes contained "explicit sexual acts involving young boys, teenage males and adult men." The ensuing police investigation uncovered a large problem of the sexual exploitation of male youth in the London region (the original investigation focused on acts of pornography, however police officials determined that the "common thread to the cases was the exchange of sex for consideration, usually money"). The police uncovered a "multi victim/multi offender case of sexual exploitation which implicated numerous male children and adult males." Dubbed Project Guardian, resources were committed to investigate and prosecute cases of sexual exploitation of young males, and research was launched to better understand the sexual exploitation of young males in London (service practitioners wanted to "learn from this experience so as to be more effective and aware in the future). The research goals included exploring the method used to recruit young males into sexual exploitation networks, learn the demographic characteristics of the youth involved, and understand the impact of sexual exploitation on the victims. Researchers sampled 62 of the 84 "complainants on whose behalf criminal charges were laid as a result" of the police investigation, and they examined multiple data sources (e.g., police information, court files). Among other things, the data reveal that most of the victims were at risk of sexual victimization due to their histories of "chronic neglect, familial dysfunction and in some case early abuse;" most youth were recruited peers who were already being sexually exploited; the incidence of sexual exploitation was very clandestine; and, the victimization negatively impacted upon the victims. The report recommends changes in legislation to protect children neglected by parents, raise the age of consent from 14 to 16 years of age, training and education programs for professionals, prevention programs, and a national strategy to combat child sexual abuse.

Schaffer, B., & DeBlassie, R. (1984). Adolescent Prostitution. *Adolescence, 19*, 689-696.

Since 1970, there has been an alarming increase in the number of juveniles involved in prostitution. A *Newsweek* (1978) article reported an increase from 24% to 74% in the number of prostitutes under the age of 25 arrested in New York in the previous 10 years. The average age of prostitutes in Boston is 20 years old, and it is 18 in Miami. This article explores the conditions preceding teenagers' involvement in prostitution, and it discusses institutional and legal responses to juvenile prostitution.

Schissel, B., & Fedec, K. (1999). The selling of innocence: The gestalt of danger in the lives of youth prostitutes. *Canadian Journal of Criminology*.

The negative impact of youth involvement in prostitution on an individual's "physical, emotional and social well-being" is a frequently overlooked research topic. The authors of this study explore the "culture of violence" experienced by youth prostitutes. Data are gathered from youth probation files on young offenders in both Regina and Saskatoon (a total of 401 cases, 52 of whom have been involved in prostitution - 7 males and 45 females, and 38 of the 52 youth prostitutes are aboriginal). The authors find that family-based childhood physical and sexual abuse (and severe sexual abuse in particular) is associated with "greater involvement in prostitution." In addition, the authors examine the "psychic trauma" associated with youth involvement in prostitution. Several self-imposed/indirect victimization variables are identified, which include high-risk substance abuse, suicidal tendencies and poor health. Examples of direct victimization include unprotected sex with customers, and physical assault (especially against aboriginal youth prostitutes) and sexual assault. The authors note: "prostitution creates a context in which those youth who are involved will run a high risk of being damaged by a predator or by themselves – either directly through assault and self-injury or indirectly through high-risk behaviour." The authors advocate a "non-legalistic, non-condemnatory intervention strategy" to prevent the victimization of children and youth involved in prostitution.

Schmolka, V. (1992). *Is Bill C-15 working? An overview of the research on the effects of the 1988 child sexual abuse amendments*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.

In response to the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Report, 1984), the federal government introduced Bill C-15, *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code and the Canada Evidence Act* to confront child sexual abuse. Following the enactment of Bill C-15, the federal government commissioned a series of studies to provide an evaluation of the legislation, and offer insights into how the legal and social service system responds to child sexual abuse. Among other things, the author of this study finds that legislation prohibiting purchasing the sexual services of a youth or living off the avails of a prostitute under the age of 18 has not impacted on juvenile prostitution. In general, many of the provisions in Bill C-15 have been implemented, while others have not been fully introduced. The author concludes by arguing that the law is not a panacea for child sexual abuse.

Schroeder, E. (1993). *Adolescent women at-risk: Group therapy for increasing self-esteem*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Washington, Seattle.

The purpose of this study is to develop and evaluate "a counseling intervention process" for young female prostitutes, and for other street involved women. The author used data from participant observation, interviews, and "agency based counseling" sessions with female adolescent prostitutes and other street youth. The study tried to establish "positive female relationships among participants." The treatment goals included: enhanced self-esteem and interpersonal problem-solving skills, and raised awareness of issues associated with women's health. Twenty-four female adolescents (ages 14-18) were assigned to one of three counseling groups that focused on increasing self-esteem through cognitive-behavioural initiatives, social and problem-solving skills, relaxation and guided imagery techniques, "body work," and sexuality and women's health awareness. The study used a pre-posttest design where subjects were evaluated on problem-solving skills, knowledge of women's health issues, and self-esteem both before and after they participated in three counseling sessions that took place over a three-day period. The data reveal significant increases in all measures from pre- to posttest. The author notes that data from treatment logs and participant evaluations suggest that sessions pertaining to "sexuality and personal appearance" were especially popular. Intervention techniques tested during this research may have had a "significant impact" on participants who experienced "dangerous, critical incidents on the street prior to the intervention" process. Treatment goals were met in counseling interventions, and they might be effective with other "at-risk female populations."

Scrambler, G., & Scrambler, A. (Eds.). (1997). *Rethinking prostitution: Purchasing sex in the 1990s.* London, UK: Routledge.

This edited text includes eight articles that examine various issues associated with contemporary prostitution in Britain. Maggie O'Neill and Peter Davis examine the social organization of male and female prostitutes. Susan Edwards contextualizes prostitution in Britain within "supra-national legal frameworks." Niki Adams and Nina Lopez argue for reforming British prostitution laws from the perspective of the English Collective of Prostitutes. Graham Scrambler discusses neglected attributes of prostitutes' backgrounds. Jean Faugier and Mary Sargent examine the men involved in the sex trade (client, boyfriends and pimps). Helen Ward and Sophie Day discuss the health care needs of prostitutes. Martin Plant explores substance use and prostitution. The afterward examines arguments for and against legalizing and decriminalizing prostitution.

Seabold, J. (1978). Indicators of child abuse in males. *Social Casework, 68*, 75-80.

The incidence of child and adolescent sexual abuse has become a growing concern for professionals who deal with the phenomenon. National estimates suggest that 46,000 to 96,000 children are sexually abused every year in the U.S. On average, only 7,600 sexual abuse cases are reported to authorities. Professionals who deal with children need to be aware of indicators of child sexual abuse. This paper reviews information provided by therapists concerning the indicators of child and adolescent sexual abuse, which include: "homophobic concerns, aggressive and controlling behaviour, infantile behaviour, paranoid and phobic behaviours, sexually provocative language and behaviour, body images and changes, family and social indicators, a pattern of setting fires, and dreams involving themes of punishment, isolation, or pursuit." The author discusses the relationship between running away from abuse and male prostitution, and the pattern of males remaining in abusive environments because they are socialized to be loyal and they have few alternatives (e.g., no available service agencies).

Secure Care Working Group. (1998). *Report of the Secure Care Working Group*. B.C.: Minister of Children and Families.

In 1998, in response to public concerns about youth at risk of harms, the British Columbia Minister of Children and Families launched a working group to help decide whether the provincial government should "develop options for secure treatment of high-risk children and youth." The working group held focus groups with youths, parents and service provider, and they visited youth custody centres and held discussions with government officials and social service professionals. The working group reported that some children and youth in British Columbia are at great risk of harm (through alcohol and substance abuse and sexual exploitation), which produce several problems, i.e., psychological/emotional difficulties, violence, sexually transmitted disease and health problems. The working group noted that intervening in the lives of children and youth involves a difficult balance between "positive and negative effects." Nevertheless, the state must develop ways to protect children and youth from abuse. The working group reported that parents and service providers expressed frustration with the inability to intervene in the lives of youths, compounded by a lack of services and education programs. The group advocated a safe care strategy that would allow officials to detain youth and make assessments, provide services and develop plans of care (a strategy with safeguards to prevent harm). The group argued it is inappropriate for children and youth "who are being sexually exploited and who want to get out of the situation they are in" to be subjected to secure care; however, they should be able to volunteer to use specialized safe care.

Sedyaningsih, M., & Edang, R. (1999). Female commercial sex workers in Kramat Tunggak, Jakarta, Indonesia. *Social Science and Medicine, 49*, 1101-1114.

This article presents a study of a brothel community in Jakarta, Indonesia. The goal was to examine the determinants of female commercial sex workers' STD/AIDS-related behavior. Thirty sex workers, 12 brothel managers, 5 vocational teachers, 6 officers and 46 clients were interviewed, given a questionnaire, and/or participated in a focus group. Policy in Indonesia prohibits girls under the age of 18 years from working in the brothels, however, managers did not follow this regulation if the girl appeared to be older. The majority of women indicated that their entry into the sex trade was "forced by the circumstances" - such as financial difficulties and lack of employment opportunities. Many have a poor understanding of the ways that AIDS and other STDs are transmitted; however, younger sex workers used condoms more consistently than did the older ones. The researchers suggest that educational programs should be

conducted in small groups to build sex workers' confidence and increase their knowledge of the benefits of condom use. Special sessions should be provided for caretakers and brothel managers, accompanied by a policy on condom use throughout brothels.

Seng, M. (1989). Child sexual abuse and adolescent prostitution: A comparative analysis. *Adolescence, 24*, 665-675.

Various studies have discussed the possible relationship between child sexual abuse and female adolescent prostitution. This study explores that relationship through self-report and referral documents/observations collected at a temporary youth shelter in Chicago, U.S. Using 22 comparison variables, 70 non-prostitutes who were sexually abused as children were compared to 35 prostitutes who were not sexually abused during childhood. The data indicate that running away is a more salient factor for becoming involved in prostitution than childhood sexual abuse. The author outlines treatment initiatives for both sexually abused children and children involved in prostitution.

Sexually Exploited Youth Committee of the Capital Regional District. (1997). *Report of the sexually exploited youth Committee of the Capital Regional District*. Victoria, B.C.

In 1996, the Sexually Exploited Youth Committee of the Capital Regional District in Victoria, British Columbia was mandated to develop an action plan to support "high-risk" and "sexually exploited youth," and to make "legislative and program recommendations to prevent the sexual exploitation of youth." The Committee conducted interviews with 75 street involved/sexually exploited youth. The findings indicate that many youth became involved in prostitution as a means of subsistence (e.g., for food, shelter and money), that youth involved in the sex trade experience violence at the hands of customers and pimps, and most sexually exploited youth have "unmet educational needs." The Committee's action plan includes the following: safe homes, "an inter-municipal police unit to deal with specifically with the problems of sexual exploited youth," prevention of childhood sexual abuse; changes in "policies and procedures to provide more effective prosecutions in cases of youth sexual exploitation;" raise the age of sexual consent from 14 to 16 years of age; and, education programs that stress the victimization of sexually exploited youth. The Committee calls for a coordinated effort to help implement their proposed action plan.

Shaw, I., & Butler, I. (1998). Understanding young people and prostitution: A foundation for practice? *British Journal of Social Work, 28*, 177-196.

The authors of this paper review the child prostitution literature, with particular focus on the methodological challenges associated with researching young prostitutes and recent evidence used to explain the phenomenon. Some of the methodological and conceptual differences observed in the prostitution-related research include: 1) disagreement over the definition of youth prostitution. Various interest groups help shape the definition of youth prostitution, and service providers should therefore treat all definitions (including their own) with "circumspection." 2) Disagreement over the relationship between abuse and prostitution. Two basic explanations have emerged to explain involvement in prostitution: a) abuse leading to loss of self-worth and "indifference to how one is treated by adults;" and b) Abuse leading to a series of events (i.e., running away from home and living on the streets) that precipitates involvement in prostitution. Regardless of the "imperfect state of our knowledge" about youth prostitution, there are serious risks associated with involvement in the sex trade (i.e., violence and abuse on the streets). Overall, the authors assert there is enough evidence to recommend a "reflective and strategic" approach to dealing with youth prostitution.

Silbert, M. (1982). Prostitution and sexual assault: Summary of results. *International Journal of Biosexual Research, 3*, 69-71.

This paper summarizes results from a questionnaire on sexual assault experiences administered to 200 female street prostitutes. The results indicate that female street prostitutes experienced serious victimization, physical and sexual abuse, and learned helplessness. Many of these women were distressed about their lifestyle, however they felt trapped and unable to leave the sex trade. Sixty percent of the subjects experienced childhood sexual abuse, and most subjects entered prostitution after running away from a sexually, physically and emotionally abusive home life. Most reported victimization (e.g., physical abuse, serious rape, and robbery) at the hands of pimps and customers. Many were also

victimized in non-prostitution related situations (e.g., muggings). Most respondents did not report their victimization to authorities, and they did not attempt to seek help for the "negative emotional impact" of their abuse.

Silbert, M., & Pines, A. (1981). Sexual child abuse as an antecedent to prostitution. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 5*, 407-411.

This study examines the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in prostitution. Data were collected from interviews with 200 female youth and adult street prostitutes. Subjects were contacted through public service announcements, information leaflets, and word of mouth. Interviewers used the "Sexual Assault Experiences Questionnaire" to gather information on the respondents' background, history of sexual assault and exploitation, and "plans for the future." The results document a history of childhood sexual abuse among most participants. 60% of the subjects reported being sexually exploited by an average of 2 assailants, and the abuse continued for an average period of 20 months. "Two-thirds were sexually abused by father figures." Participants reported negative emotional, physical and attitudinal impacts because of the abuse. 70% indicated that their decision to prostitute was related to their childhood sexual abuse. The findings contribute to our understanding of "antecedents of prostitution," and the "long-term impact" of child sexual abuse.

Silbert, M., & Pines, A. (1982a). Entrance into prostitution. *Youth and Society, 13*, 471-500.

Researchers invited 200 current and former female prostitutes in the San Francisco Bay area to participate in a study examining the factors contributing to involvement in prostitution. Respondents were contacted through public service announcements, information leaflets, and word of mouth. Subjects complete a Sexual Assault Experience Questionnaire that gathered information on demographics, home life experiences, social support systems, and motivation for involvement in prostitution. Approximately 60% of the respondents indicated they were victims of physical and sexual abuse during childhood. The authors suggest two patterns of entering prostitution: 1) Caucasian juveniles from above-average economic backgrounds who experienced "physical, emotional and sexual abuse at home." These youth ended up on the streets where they became involved in prostitution. 2) Less prevalent were minorities from "low-socio-economic backgrounds in which crime, drug abuse, and prostitution predominated." For this group, financial pressures at home led to deviant associations. Overall, most youth became involved in prostitution after running away from a difficult home life and ending up on the streets where they had no other means of support.

Silbert, M. & Pines, A. (1982b). Victimization of street prostitutes. *Victimology, 7*, 122-133.

This study examines the cycle of victimization experienced by street prostitutes. Data were collected from interviews with 200 female youth and adult street prostitutes. Subjects were contacted through public service announcements, information leaflets, and word of mouth. Interviewers used the "Sexual Assault Experiences Questionnaire" to gather information on the respondents' background, history of sexual assault and exploitation, and "plans for the future." The data reveal a cycle of victimization, both before and after the respondents entered prostitution. Most subjects ran away from abusive (sexually and physically) homes and subsequently became involved in prostitution. Sixty percent of the respondents indicated they were victims of childhood sexual exploitation, and everyone experienced physical and emotional abuse. Once involved in prostitution, respondents were raped, beaten, robbed and abused by both customers and pimps. Respondents were victimized in non-prostitution related situations. Most did not report their victimization to authorities, and they did not attempt to seek help for the "negative emotional impact" of their abuse. The research highlights the importance of providing services to help break the cycle of victimization, and better services to prevent youth from entering prostitution.

Silbert, M., & Pines, A. (1983). Early sexual exploitation as an influence in prostitution. *Social Work, 28*, 285-289.

Research referring to the link between childhood sexual exploitation and prostitution has relied on subjects held in custody, or women who sought therapeutic help. These studies have not included representative samples of victims. This paper reviews findings from a study of 200 female street prostitutes, which examined the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and prostitution. Participants were contacted through public service announcements, information leaflets and word-of-mouth. Interviewers administered a Sexual Assault Experiences Questionnaire that focused on the respondent's history of sexual assault and exploitation, and plans for the future. Sixty percent of the

respondents indicated they were victims of childhood sexual exploitation. Thirty-one percent identified more than one person who sexually abused them as children. A majority reported negative feelings about themselves, men, sex and their mothers. Seventy percent stated their exploitation influenced their decision to prostitute. The authors advocate special services for juvenile victims of sexual abuse, and they urge social workers to deal with the "paralysis that underlies the inability of prostitutes to leave their self-destructive lifestyle."

Silson, P., & Arnold, J. (1986). *Street Kids: Australia's Alienated Young.* Australia: Australian Institute of Criminology, Australian Criminology Research Council.

Interviews with 36 Australian youths reveal "underlying behaviors likely to bring the youth in contact with the juvenile justice system: Alcohol, drug abuse, prostitution, suicide and serious crime." Many youth suggest their lifestyles result from their inability "to achieve economic and social linkages to normative Australian society." They are pushed into prostitution to survive economically and they are pushed into drugs and alcohol, suicide and crime to survive emotionally and psychologically. Most believe that society must revise "its legal, social, educational and economic structures to accommodate the needs and coping strategies of abused juveniles." The legal system is perceived as nothing more than a punitive response to youths' coping mechanisms. The youth "hope for the decriminalization of prostitution and drug use and a fairer approach to unemployment compensation for independent juveniles."

Simon, P., Morse, E., Osofsky, H., & Balson, P. (1994). HIV and young male street prostitutes: A brief report. *Journal of Adolescence, 17*, 193-197.

The authors of this report present HIV seroprevalence data from a sample of active young male street prostitutes in New Orleans, U.S. The authors examine the relationship between HIV and "socio-demographic characteristics, substance abuse patterns, HIV-related risk behaviours and AIDS knowledge." The data are used as a basis for recommending HIV-related health and prevention programs for adolescent male street prostitutes.

Simons, R. & Whitbeck, L. (1991). Sexual abuse as a precursor to prostitution and victimization among adolescent and homeless women. *Journal of Family Issues, 12*, 361-379.

This study samples 40 teenage runaways and 95 homeless women to examine the impact of childhood sexual abuse on prostitution and victimization. The data suggest that childhood sexual abuse influence the probability of becoming involved in prostitution. Controlling for factors such as runaway behaviour, substance abuse, and involvement in other deviant activities do not challenge the association between early sexual abuse and prostitution. Childhood sexual victimization indirectly influences upon future victimization, primarily through participation in high-risk activities.

Snell, C. (1991). Help-seeking behavior among young street males. *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 61*, 293-305.

This study samples 70 young male prostitutes to explore and analyze their "help-seeking behaviour." The authors conducted in-person structured interviews and direct observation of places where young street males assemble. Most respondents indicated they received high levels of emotional and physical support from family members. Friends supplied emotional support, but were not identified as offering physical support. Medical and legal services and ministerial help were identified as most accessible. The police and social and mental health services were described as less "available or useful." The author discusses implications for social work practice in light of the findings.

Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (S.C.P.P.). (1985). *Pornography and prostitution in Canada.* Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services.

The federal government inaugurated the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Committee) after a growing dissatisfaction with prostitution-related legislation and feminist concerns about pornography. The Fraser Committee was instructed to conduct sociolegal research to examine the problems associated with pornography and prostitution. When it came to research and recommendations pertaining to youth prostitution, the Committee largely deferred to the Badgley Committee. One important exception was the Fraser Committee disagreed

with the Badgley Committee over the recommendation to criminalize young prostitutes as a means of preventing them from becoming entrenched in prostitution, the Fraser Committee argued that creating an age-specific offence contradicted the spirit of the *Young Offenders Act*. The Fraser Committee recommended the enactment of legislation that criminalized obtaining, or attempting to obtain the sexual services of a youth, as well as amendments to the procuring legislation to create a separate offence for "persuading or deceiving" someone under the age of 18 to prostitute. The Committee also provides several recommendations to improve prevention, education and social service programs. To assist the Fraser Committee with its mandate, the Department of Justice Canada commissioned a series of studies that helped provide the basis of the Fraser Report. The prostitution-related reports included:

- Kiedrowski, J.S., van Dijk, J.J.M. (1984). *Pornography and Prostitution in Denmark, France, West Germany, The Netherlands and Sweden, Working Paper #1*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Sansfaçon, D. (1984). *Pornography and Prostitution in the United States, Working Paper #2*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Sansfaçon, D. (1984). *Agreements and Conventions of the United Nations with Respect to Pornography and Prostitution, Working Paper #3*. Ottawa: Department Of Justice Canada.
- Jayewardene, C.H.S., Juliani, T.J. & Talbot, C.K. (1984). *Prostitution and Pornography in Selected Countries, Working Paper #4*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- El Komos, M. (1984). *Canadian Newspaper Coverage of Pornography and Prostitution, 1978-83, Working Paper #5*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Peat Marwick and Partners. (1984). *Canadian Attitudes Toward and Perceptions of Pornography and Prostitution, Working Paper #6*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Haug, M. & Cini, M. (1984). *The Ladies (and Gentlemen) of the Night and the Spread of Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Working Paper #7*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Lowman, J. (1984). *Vancouver Field Study of Prostitution, Research Notes, 2 Vols., Working Paper #8*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Laut, M. (1984). *A Report on Prostitution in the Prairies, Working Paper #9*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Fleischman, J. (1984). *A Report on Prostitution in Ontario, Working Paper #10*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Gemme, R., Murphy, A., Bourque, M., Nemeh, M.A. & Payment, N. (1984). *A Report on Prostitution in Quebec, Working Paper #11*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.
- Crook, N. (1984). *A Report on Prostitution in the Atlantic Provinces, Working Paper #12*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.

Sullivan, T. (1986). The politics of juvenile prostitution. In J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys & S. Gavigan (Eds.), *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports*. (pp. 177-191). Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University.

This paper examines the Badgley Report and recent legislative responses to youth prostitution from a broader social perspective. The author outlines medico-legal, sociological and psychological discourse to situate the phenomenon of juvenile prostitution within the family context. The paper illustrates how legislation as it affects juvenile prostitution has "historically been uneven and discriminatory both in its spirit and its enforcement." The Badgley Report is criticized for ignoring many of the broader and social economic factors that make prostitution a "significant point of entry into the labor force for some young workers." With few education and job-related skills, many youth runaway to the streets and become involved in prostitution as a means of survival. The last section of the paper illustrates that child sexual abuse and youth prostitution are typically dealt with through a professional regulation of the family, which ignores important social and economic issues.

Sullivan, T. (1988). Juvenile prostitution: A critical perspective. In F. Hagan and M.B. Sussman (Eds.), *Deviance and the family, marriage and family review, 12*(1/2), New York: The Haworth Press.

This is the same article that appears in J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys and S. Gavigan (Eds.) (1986) "Regulating Sex: An Anthology of Commentaries on the Findings and Recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser Reports." School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

Sullivan, T. (1992). *Sexual abuse and the rights of children: Reforming the Canadian law.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

In Canada, during the 1980s, there was an explosion of public and professional commentary concerning sexual offences against young persons. In this book, Sullivan attempts to conceptualize the *Criminal Code* (1988) reforms introduced to protect children from sexual abuse and exploitation. In specific, the author poses the question: "Who benefits from law reforms centred on the sexual abuse of adolescents." The book reviews factors contributing to the construction of child sexual abuse as a social problem, and illustrates how responses to child sexual abuse are conceptualized within a professional and liberal welfare state. Discourse produced by the Badgley Report, and upheld by legislative reform, paved the way for "the regulation of sexual behaviour in adolescents and families within the context of professionalization of social and family relations, and the social reproduction of families to consume the service commodities produced by helping professionals in the post-industrial service economy." After considering the limits of liberal reform, the author explores several alternative strategies for addressing youth prostitution.

Sullivan, T. (1996). The challenge of HIV prevention among high-risk adolescents. *Health and Social Work, 21*, 58-65.

This article documents findings from a study of 60 street youth concerning their HIV knowledge and HIV-related risk behaviours. Participants were chosen based on at least one of the following conditions: homeless, homosexual or bisexual, substance use, involvement in prostitution. Structured interviews (lasting 20 minutes) focused on background characteristics, current life circumstances, knowledge about HIV, and involvement in HIV-risk activities. The data reveal high-risk profiles among these socially marginalized youth. Community-based education programs may have some impact on "lower-risk behaviour among this population." The author identifies "cofactors of risk" that must be addressed (i.e., sexuality and marginalization), and argues for practical educational programs to transform the living conditions of street involved youth.

Sullivan, E., & Simon, W. (1996). *The client: A social, psychological, and behavioral look at the unseen patron of prostitution.* Unpublished manuscript, University of Houston.

Using data from the National Health and Social Life survey (NHSLS), this paper provides preliminary ideas concerning the "demographic, sexual and attitudinal attributes of men who exhibit a predisposition to exchange money for sex." Among other things, the NHSLS used self-administered questionnaires to ask men (N=1511) if they have ever paid a woman for a sexual encounter. Two hundred sixty-seven (18%) respondents admitted to having paid a woman for sex; these men were then compared to respondents who stated they have never visited a prostitute. Variables that had no significant relationship with having paid for sex include: religious attendance, household income, area of residence, and being raised in a broken home. Attitudes toward sexuality and sexual behaviour also had no significant relationship with having visited a prostitute. Variables related to having paid a woman for sex include: being in the military, being older in age (visits with prostitutes increased with age), being African-American or Hispanic (for non-military men), and frequency of paying for sex increased at both ends of the education continuum. The authors caution their results do not provide a "singular explanation" of why men purchase sex, however it does open discussions of the numerous "reasons for the behavior."

Task Force on Children Involved in Prostitution. (1997). *Children involved in prostitution.* Edmonton, Alberta: Ministry of Family and Social Services.

The Task Force on Children Involved in Prostitution was introduced in response to growing concerns about children involved in prostitution in Alberta. The Task Force was mandated to "examine the work done and the recommendations made by various tasks forces and communities; research and examine programs in other

jurisdictions which may be effective within Alberta; make recommendations for action to the Minister of Alberta Family and Social Services." The Task Force argued that children involved in prostitution must be seen as victims of abuse. "These children, if not abused while at home, are certainly victims of sexual abuse when they are used by either a pimp or john. The philosophical framework which encompasses all of the recommendations of the Task Force is that children involved in prostitution are victims of sexual abuse." The report provides legal, education, health and social support recommendations for combating youth prostitution. The main factors contributing to a youth's decision to enter prostitution include school and family difficulties (e.g., physical and emotional abuse), unconventional peers and early sexual experiences. Barriers to leaving the streets include low self-esteem, few positive role models, loose or dysfunctional family ties, abuse of drugs and alcohol and control by an individual such as a pimp or "boyfriend." Among the recommendations: amend s.212(4) of the *Criminal Code* to make it easier to enforce; introduce a "Children Involved in Prostitution Act" to legislate support for a continuum of services approach, educate parents about the issues of child prostitution; develop a media campaign to increase public awareness of child prostitution." The Task Force stresses the importance of prevention, early intervention and treatment for children involved in prostitution. "These children belong to our communities and our families. We must all work together to stop the abuse of our children."

Tremble, B. (1993). Prostitution and survival: Interviews with gay street youth. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 2*, 39-45.

This study draws upon interviews with gay street youth in Toronto, Ontario to examine their quality of life, their process of becoming street involved, and general characteristics. The data reveal these youth represent a variety of ethnic, cultural and socio-economic groups, and their family circumstance involved frequent contact with social services. In addition, a majority of youth ran away from an abusive home life, or from "placement facilities." The author lists recommendations for service providers who deal with gay street youth (e.g., end moral bias towards prostitution, provide appropriate life and social skills, and pay attention to "culturally different perceptions of prostitution").

Udegbe, I.B., & Fajimolu, O. (1992). Family structure, parental attachment, need for affiliation and autonomy as factors distinguishing between young prostitutes and non-prostitutes. *Indian Journal of Behaviour, 16*, 20-27.

This research compares 78 female prostitutes (average age 22) with 85 female (undergraduate) non-prostitutes on a variety of factors, including family circumstances, peer associations, affiliations needs, and desire for autonomy. Self-report questionnaires were administered to the entire sample (all between the ages of 15-27). The data indicate that prostitutes tend to have polygamous fathers, mothers who were married more than once, proportionally more siblings, and they left home at an earlier age. In addition, the prostitute sample was not as attached to their parents as non-prostitutes. No between-group difference was found with respect to affiliation needs and the desire for autonomy.

Unger, J., Simon, T., Newman, T., Montgomery, S., Kipke, M., & Albornoz, M. (1998). Early adolescent street youth: An overlooked population with unique problems and service needs. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 18*(4), 325-348.

The authors of this article examine the needs and problems of early adolescent street youth (12 through 15 years of age). Younger adolescents are at higher risk for "negative psychological and physical consequences of life on the streets" (e.g., immature decision-making skills, susceptible to peer influence, exposure to deviant peer groups, lack adult and parental guidance and reluctance to use street-based services). This study explored the demographic and lifestyle characteristics of 245 street youth in Los Angeles and San Diego, California. Eighty-nine percent of the sample was 14 or 15 years of age, 51% were male and 42% were Caucasian. Identification with the "gay/bisexual youth" group was positively correlated with identification with the "sex workers" group. Forty-nine percent of the early adolescents were homeless or living in a "location that was not intended to be a permanent residence." "Of those homeless early adolescents, 33 (28%) had been homeless for 1 year or more." The most common sources of money for the early adolescents were parents/family, panhandling and friends, although 40% of the youth reported engaging in some illicit activity such as prostitution, drug dealing, mugging, or stealing. Further research is required to determine the catalysts of running away or being thrown away from home, to identify factors that may protect youth against homelessness, and whether interventions targeted toward involvement in the street economy will reduce homelessness and street life.

Visano, L. (1987). ***This idle trade: The occupational patterns of male prostitution.*** Concord: VistaSana Books.

Relying on an interactionist analytic framework, this book discusses the construction of "deviant work and the meaning of deviant work as interpreted by different actors." The author used participant observation, group discussions, and case histories to examine 33 boys involved in prostitution. In addition, the author conducted a two-year longitudinal analysis of 12 boys, and interviewed various criminal justice and social service personnel. Main themes of the book include: young males identify their involvement in prostitution from an occupational perspective that down-plays a "deviant self-perception" (the actors define prostitution as part of a "hustle"); young male prostitutes experience conflict with colleagues, customers, and legal and social service agents; and, prostitution occurs within a variety of social relations. The results highlight the adjustments people make to adapt to their occupational lives, and it contributes to our understanding of male prostitution.

Vitaliano, P., James, J. & Boyer, D. (1981). Sexuality of deviant females: Adolescent and adult correlates. ***Social Work, 26,*** 468-72.

Previous research on women reveals a relationship between childhood sexual trauma, low self-image and future involvement in deviant adult activity. Studies on the antecedents of female prostitution focus on early abuse or economic factors, and they ignore factors of "perceived or forced" loss of self-esteem during adolescence. This research assumes that negative sexual experiences during childhood have an impact on teenage female's self-image. The authors compared a prostitute group with a group of female offenders (N=269). In-person interviews were conducted with the participants to achieve two goals: 1) characterize the women's early sexual experiences (positive or negative); 2) test the hypothesis that early sexual experience is related to deviant lifestyles. The data indicate that prostitutes were more likely to have experienced a "negative sexual experience (i.e., forced or coerced sex) in adolescence than female offenders." Considering the perceived or forced loss of self-esteem among prostitutes, the authors develop a sex-role counseling program at the University of Washington. The program goals include: 1) address factors associated with labeling, 2) differentiate between self-perception as sexual offender and their sexual victim status, and 3) "restore and expand women's concept of successful female roles."

Wachtel, A. (1986). Some reflections on the Badgley report. In J. Lowman, M. Jackson, T. Palys, & S. Gavigan (Eds.), ***Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports.*** Burnaby, B.C.: Simon Fraser University.

The author examines the Badgley Report in light of three major themes: 1) The identification of child sexual abuse as a national problem; 2) The Report's child centred approach; 3) The Committee's ambivalence about children and sexuality. Problems are cited with the Committee's methods and figures used to report the incidence of sexual abuse; however, a comparison with other estimates confirms the conclusion that child sexual abuse is a widespread social problem. The author criticizes the report for medicalizing incest through its genetics discussion - focusing on genetics ignores social objections to incest. The Report's child centred approach stands as one of its strengths.

Webber, M. (1991). ***Street kids: The tragedy of Canada's runaways.*** Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

This book profiles the experiences of "young, homeless and trapped" street kids. The author conducts in-depth interviews with both street people and ex-street people in various Canadian cities. Among other things, the author illustrates the damaging aspects of life on the streets (i.e., young prostitutes who experience pimp and trick violence and youth who have substance abuse problems). Many young people end up on the streets after running away from a physically, sexually and emotionally abusive home life. One chapter on sexually exploited kids suggests that some street youth are forced to prostitute as a means of subsistence. The book also details how homeless and hungry youth experience conflict with a criminal justice system that ignores the living conditions of street youth. At the same time, service providers struggle to help youths entrenched in the street life; however, intervention at this stage often comes too late, and most agencies lack the necessary funding and tools to provide youths with options for leaving the streets. The street youth phenomenon unfolds within conditions of "growing poverty and a shrinking social safety net."

Weisberg, D. K. (1985). *Children of the night: A study of adolescent prostitution.* Lexington: Lexington Books.

The construction of prostitution as a social problem is a relatively recent occurrence. Concern with juvenile prostitution emerged in the 1960s at the same time that child abuse became a topical social problem. This book examines a variety of issues associated with adolescent (male and female) prostitution, with specific focus on the origin of the phenomenon, lifestyles associated with prostitution, and young prostitutes' interaction with criminal justice and social service personnel. The book also examines the correlation between adolescent prostitution and child abuse and runaway behaviour. The basis of this work is, in part, a research project that used multiple methods to develop "in-depth demographic and descriptive" information on youth prostitution. Among other things, the author reveals the following on male and female adolescent prostitutes: average age 16; average age of entry is 14; most have a childhood history of physical and sexual abuse; most have runaway several times; and, they learned about prostitution from their peers. Most youth lack the education and employment skills necessary to subsist, thereby contributing to their decision to prostitute. Homosexual preferences characterize a large proportion of adolescent male prostitutes. The author lists recommendations to assist legal and social service agencies in "helping street people and runaways" (i.e., aggressive outreach services, inter-agency co-operation, the development of strong client relationships, address staff "burnout," and steps to address the various needs of young prostitutes).

West, D.J. (1992). *Male prostitution: Gay sex services in London.* London, England: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.

This book attempts to "dispel myths and confusions and to describe the male prostitution scene in London, England in more objective terms and with fewer preconceptions than writers on the subject have shown in the past." The author recorded observations about the male sex trade, with the goal of promoting "realistic social policies." Interviews were conducted with 87 male sex workers. Sex worker is defined as "one who proffers personal sexual services to a variety of customers chosen primarily for what they are prepared to pay." Issues discussed throughout the book include violence and the risk of violence for young male prostitutes, the risk of HIV infection, and the antecedents of life as a sex worker.

Widom, C., & Ames, M.S. (1994). Criminal consequences of childhood sexual victimization. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 18*(4), 308-318.

Numerous studies have explored the link between childhood sexual abuse and participation in negative activities, i.e., delinquency, running away, promiscuity and inappropriate sexual behavior. This study examines the long-term criminal consequences of childhood sexual abuse. Using a prospective cohort design, the authors examined the official criminal histories of victims of childhood sexual abuse (total N=908). The study included a comparison group of physically abused and neglected cases, and a control group matched on age, race, sex and socio-economic status ("Of the 319 abused and neglected children under school age, there were matches for 229"). The results indicate that in comparison to cases of abuse and neglect, childhood sexual abuse does not increase an individual's risk for subsequent involvement in delinquent and adult criminal activity. Sexually abused juveniles were at greater risk of being arrested for runaway behaviour. Childhood sexual abuse victims "were more likely to be arrested for prostitution as adults than other abuse and neglect victims and controls, regardless of gender." The authors examined the number of youth arrested as runaways who also had a record for prostitution as an adult; there was no support for a "direct relationship" between childhood sexual abuse, being arrested as a youth for running away, and being arrested as an adult for prostitution. The results must be approached with caution because the authors relied on official data and the "possible impact of agency intervention." They encourage future research that examines cases of childhood sexual abuse where negative consequences do not appear.

Widom, C. & Kuhns, J. (1996). Childhood victimization and subsequent risk for promiscuity, prostitution, and teenage pregnancy: A prospective study. *American Journal of Public Health, 86*, 1607-1612.

This study examines the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and/neglect and subsequent risk for promiscuity, prostitution, and teenage pregnancy. The authors find that early abuse and/or neglect was a strong indicator of involvement in prostitution for females. Further, there was an association between sexual abuse, neglect and female prostitution; however, physical abuse was only peripherally associated with involvement in the sex trade.

Widom, C.S. (May/June 1996). Childhood sexual abuse and criminal consequences. *Society*, 47-53.

There is considerable research concerning the "cycle of violence" or the negative consequences (i.e., increased violence behaviour) that stem from childhood sexual or physical abuse or neglect. A salient research topic focuses on the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and subsequent involvement in delinquent activity. Unfortunately, many of these studies are methodologically weak (i.e., they rely on retrospective reporting of adults and they do not use adequate comparison groups). The author of this research posed three questions to examine the "possible long-term criminal consequences of childhood sexual abuse:" 1) "Are sexual abuse victims at higher risk criminal behavior later in life?" 2) "Is there a higher risk of committing sex crimes?" 3) "Is there a link between sexual abuse, running away, and prostitution?" The authors examined the case histories of 908 victims of childhood physical or sexual abuse or neglect who were "processed through the courts between 1967 and 1971." Cases were split into two groups: those with a history of abuse and neglect and a control group with no documented cases of abuse or neglect. The data reveal that childhood abuse and neglect "puts victims at higher risk for criminal behavior." Victims of sexual abuse were not more likely than other "victims of physical abuse or neglect" to participate in criminal activities. However, with respect to prostitution, the author asserts that childhood sexual abuse victims were more likely to runaway and become involved in prostitution than "other child maltreatment victims and controls." The link between childhood abuse and neglect and subsequent involvement in criminal behaviour is not inevitable; however, we must be aware of the "particular risk they face."

*** Working group to stop sexual abuse of children by johns and pimps. (1997). *Recommendations for action.* SK: Saskatoon Communities for Children.**

The Working Group provided several recommendations for responding to the sexual abuse of youth by pimps and johns. Using a continuum of strategies, the Group recommended outreach, safe refuge services, healing and treatment for children, changes to legislation, strategies for deterring johns, and prevention and community awareness. These recommendations stem from the Mayor's Task Force on Child Prostitution (Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Prostitution in the City of Saskatoon, 1996).

Wurzbacher, K., Evans, E., & Moore, E. (1991). Effects of alternative street school on youth involved in prostitution. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 12*, 549-554.

In this study, youth prostitutes were self-assigned into a group attending alternative street school, a group unable to attend school, or a group for those who refused to attend school. Participants were administered Reynolds Adolescent Depression Scale, Rosenburg Self-Esteem Scale, Quality of Life Scale and self-reported prostitution-related activities. Information was gathered at intake time and 50 days after intake. School attendees exhibited significantly "less depression, improved school sentiment, improved self-esteem, and reduced prostitution activity in less than 2 months of street school." The authors note that no other noticeable changes in variables were witnessed for either of the remaining two groups, except for self-esteem.

Yates, G., MacKenzie, R., Pennbridge, J., & Swofford, A. (1991). A risk profile comparison of homeless youth involved in prostitution and homeless youth not involved. *Journal of Adolescent, 12*, 545-548.

This study compares visits of 467 non-prostitute youths to a runaway/homeless outpatient clinic with 153 youth involved in prostitution who attended the same clinic. The data was collected over a 12-month period. Using information from "adolescent risk profile" interviews, the authors note that homeless prostitutes are involved in more high-risk/health compromising behaviour such as drug abuse, suicide and depression. HIV-related risks associated with prostitution include multiple drug abuse, "gay or bisexual male involvement," and numerous sexual partners. A large number of youth prostitutes reported a history of sexual abuse, "suggesting the need for intervention by the child protective service system."

Zigman, M. (1999). Under the law: Teen prostitution in Kensington. *Critique of Anthropology, 19*(2), 193-201.

Traditional explanations of the antecedents of youth involvement in prostitution focus on drug abuse, sexual abuse and the "dysfunctionality of the nuclear home." According to Zigman, these "monocausal explanations fail to take into consideration the myriad of reasons why young women enter into prostitution as well as the complexity behind their actions." The current capitalist system makes prostitution a viable source of income for some youth. For instance, because youth are excluded from the workforce – usually via child labour laws – they turn to forms of marginal work as a means of subsistence (including prostitution). "The regulation of children's labour, in addition to a weakened household economy, functions in such a way that it forces children into marginal work, and the streets become a viable alternative to the home." The author argues that confronting youth prostitution is conditional upon our willingness to address an economic system that has allowed prostitution to be a viable source of income for some youths. The author also argues that most of the literature on the causes of youth prostitution ignore the demand aspect of the trade – "poverty and social problems do not explain such a large demand factor."